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THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE Mogol Empire,

From it's Foundation BY TAMERLANE, To the Late EMPEROR ORANGZEB.

Extracted from the MEMOIRS of M. *MANOÜCHI*, A Venetian, and Chief Physitian to *Orangzeb* for above Forty Years.

By F. F. Catrou.

CALCUTTA,
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INTRODUCTION.

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Manouchi's narrative of the events of Shah-Jehan's reign has been characterised as "the only authentic narrative that has been preserved of the reign of Shah-Jehan". Manouchi was a Venetian physician who came to India about 1649, and resided here for 48 years. On his return to Europe he took with him a treatise which he had composed in India partly from his own observations and partly from Persian manuscripts. His work was illustrated by Indian artists and written in Portuguese. It fell, we know not how, into the hand of one Landes an officer of the Civil Service of the French East India Company who showed it to Father Catrou, a Jesuit priest. Finding favourable mention of the efforts of Catholic missionaries the father undertook to translate it. "Unfortunately, the father could not content himself with the humble office of translation, nor did the state of his literary conscience re-

quire him either to get Dr. Monouchi to vouch for their propriety or correctness." He did not follow Manouchi rigidly but assumed the privilege of collecting from other quarters "materials in aid of the brevity of the chronicle.' "The most remarkable thing is", says Mr. Keene, "that this unusual treatment was practised upon an author who was alive at the time of the publication (A D. 1708) of Catrou's book."

"Nevertheless" continues Mr. Keene, "such as the work is, we may well be grateful for it, especially if we can, by internal or other evidence, gain any clue to what is the actual product of original observation on the part of one who was an inmate of the imperial palace and furnished with peculiar opportunities of studying the domestic life of the court."

Catrou's direct authority is no authority at all. But a judicious use of his book cannot but prove of high importance to a historian who can apply to acculmulated materials

the methods of analysis and synthesis. The book contains many interesting particulars of the domestic life of the Court of Agra--and they seem to have been taken directly from Manouchi's narrative. They are illustrative of a period of the history of the Moghuls in India; and, as such, are of immense value. The details of revenue &c. also are very important from the historian's point of view.

For the correction of the prevalent rumour about the nature of Shah-Jehan's passion for his beloved daughter Jehanara—a rumour given currency to by Bernier, we must go to Manouchi. He supplies us with the instrument by which the cleansing of the grass-grown grave of Jehanara may be instantly effected. The character of Aurangzeb and the nature of his faith are to be read in the incident about his robbing the *faquirs* (P. 241). Manouchi describes incidents and accidents that throw a flood of light on the history of the Moghuls and the characters of the

actors in memorable drama that was played at Delhi.

Catrou's book, we have said, was originally published in 1708. The first English translation, a faithful reprint of which we are now publishing, was published in 1709; and a second English translation was issued in 1826. Evidently the author of the second translation was not aware of the existence of the first. He makes no mention of it. And the original translation has grown so scarce that even a laborious historian like Mr. Keene has written that an English translation of Father Francois Catrou's book was published in London in 1826.

We hope and trust the publication of this reprint will help the student of Indian history.

Our thanks are due to Babu Hemendra Prosad Ghose for allowing us the use of the original translation from his collection.

THE BANGABASI OFFICE,
Calcutta, May, 1907. } THE PUBLISHER.

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THE

Author's PREFACE.

I Little thought I shou'd one Day present the Publick with an Universal History of the *Mogol* Empire. Nor should I indeed have had the Courage to Embark for so distant a Country, if all the difficulties of the Enterprise had not been remov'd to my Hand. Who Dreams of going in quest of Hero's as far off as the *Indies*, while we have so many left in *Europe*, whose Memory moulders away for want of a Historian? How cou'd I possibly resolve on making in a distant Country all the necessary researches for tracing the Sucession of the Emperors, who now Reign in *Indoustan*? I was not Ignorant how small a Concern we in *Europe* have for Princes unknown, whose Interests are so littile intermixt with our own. Our prejudices on this Head are no Secret. I know not by what turn of Imagination, or by what Vanity we have accustom'd our selves

to treat all as *Barbarians*, whose Education is different from ours; but this prejudice and these difficulties might well have put me out of Conceit with the Work, I have now Finish'd, or rather indeed have prevented its ever entring into my Thoughts.

A meer Accident then Engag'd me in a Affair, I shou'd not have medled with from Choice or Inclination.* A Person of known Probity, and who has exercised in the *Indies* one of the first Functions in our Colonies there, put a *Portuguese Manuscript* into my Hands. I ran it over immediately, with that Curiosity which one naturally has to Learn the Adventures of a Traveller; but I met in with something more than meer Voyages. I believ'd somewhat might be extracted from it of a higher Nature than the bare Relation of a strange Country. I found by it that *M. Manouchi* had had the Perusal of the Chronicles of the *Mogol* Empire; that he had got 'em translated into the *Portuguese*; and that they were inserted in the Work which I had in my Hands.

* M. des Landes.

I made some Reflexions at the Sight of so Valuable Materials, which determin'd me to go to Work on the Memoir that lay before me. I consider'd that the General History of a Mighty Empire, from the time of it's Foundation, till now, might not be unaccptable to Men of Letters: that this of the

Mogol was wanting to Universal History; that hitherto we had only had some scatter'd Pieces of it given us in the several Languages of *Europe*, and that these had been receiv'd with Applause; that after all, the Diversity which shou'd be observ'd between the Manners of the *Eastern* people and ours, might rather excite the Curiosity of the Publick; that we are tired of seeing Heroes on the Stage always in an *European* Dress; and that those of *Asia* are not without their Beauty's, were they but tolerably drawn to the Life; that the History of the remotest Country is no less capable of Ornaments than that of our own; that perhaps it has some of an uncommon kind, and which are peculiar to it; that the human Passions, which are the Soul of great Events, are the same in *Asia* as in *Europe*; that we may be instructed in *France* by Examples of *Indian* Vertue, as others had been heretofore in *Greece* by the illustrious Patterns of Probity and Generosity among the *Scythians*; in fine, that the Example of *Padmani* might be as useful a Lesson of conjugal Fidelity. as the Constancy of the Heroes of *Toxaris* was among the *Athenians* of the highest Friendship.

I did not besides this doubt, that there was kept in the *Mogol* Empire an exact Chronicle in which the principal Events were registered in their order. 'Twas on Memoirs extracted from this

Chornicle, that *John Laet* composed his View of the *Mogol* Empire. Hear how he speaks of it. *Nos Fragmentum é Belgico quod é genuino illius Regni Chronico expressum credimus libere vertimus.*

I had moreover all the Certainty that can be desired in Matters of this Kind, that my Chronicle of the *Mogol* in Portuguese has the greatest Characters of Truth. *M. Manouchi* assures us, he took Care to have it faithfully translated from an original Record of the Imperial Court written in the *Persian* Language, It appears plainly that this *Venetian* spar'd no Cost to transmitt into *Europe* Authentick Memoirs, of the Empire, in which he resides. He has got the Pictures of the Emperors, and illustrious Men of the *Mogol* Empire drawn at a vast Charge by Painters belonging to the *Seraglio*. We should have presented the Publick with copies of them, but that we were loth to over-load this first Edition.

I knew withal that *Monsieur Manouchi* had not made only some slight Excursions in the Dominions of the *Mogol*. He is none of those Traders of *Europe*, whom Business obliges either to pass in hast thro some Provinces of the *Indies*, or reside in a Seaport Town at a great Distance from the Capital. He's a Physitian whom his Profession has obliged to reside for a long time in

the Emperors Family. As he has liv'd forty Years at Court, and by his Profession has had a free Admittance into the *Seraglio*, a Favor refused to most Travellers, it shou'd not be thought strange that he has come at the best Memoirs, and had the Perusal of the Authentick Chronicle of the Empire. I was the more convinc'd of this, when comparing him with the *European* Authors, who treat of the *Mogol*, I had found that the Accounts of those who had the best Reputation agreed exactly with his Chronicle.

As to the two last Reigns, it must be allow'd that no one was better qualified to give a just Relation of them than *M. Manouchi.* He came into the *Indies* in the Life-time of *Cha-Jaham*; he follow'd the Fortune and Person of *Dara* Eldest Son to the Emperor; he was present at all the Battels which in the Issue depriv'd this Unfortunate Prince of his Throne and Life. If he sometimes differs from *Mr. Bernier*, that judicious Author, who has given us the History of the Revolution, which placed *Oramgzeb* on the Throne; 'tis because the *Venetian* Wrote later than the *Frenchman*, and had the Leisure to verify certain Events on the Spot, which *Monsieur Bernier* had only deliver'd on publick Fame.

I have had one Advantage more in making *Monsieur Manouchi* my Guide. Tho' he has Written in a kind of *Portuguese*, such as they

Speak in the *Indies*, and which is none of the purest; tho' he often mixes with it *Italian* Expressions in a French Style, yet one finds in his manner of relating things, I know not what Fire of Fancy, which Sustains and Elevates an Historian, who Works on his Materials. 'Tis true, I have not always Copy'd him to the Rigor. I have often given my self the Liberty which one has a Privilege to take, who Writes from a Genius on the Memoirs of another. I have even borrow'd from other hands to supply the Brevity of the Chronicle. Sometimes I have consulted a *French*, sometimes an *English*, sometimes an *Italian*, but most commonly a *Potuguese* or *Dutch* Author. Nor have I neglected the Accounts of Travellers, tho' I have made use of 'em with some Precaution. However, after having made Excursions into the Grounds of others, I have always come Home to the Chronicle at last. 'Tis the Base, as it were, and ground Work of my History. I shou'd make no difficulty of ascribing the whole to *Monsieur Manouchi*, and setting no other Name to it than his, were I assur'd that he wou'd adopt with Pleasure what I have borrow'd from others.

Monseiur d'Herbelot's Oriental Bibliotheque, has been a great Assistance to me towards clearing and drawing out at length, what the Chronicle by it's Brevity had left Obscure. *Massée, Tossi, Texeira, Pietro*

Dellavalle, Thomas Rowe, John de Laet, Mssrs. Bernier & Tavernier are the Principal Sources, from whence I have supplied what to me seem'd defective in the Chronicle. I consulted several intelligent Persons at *Paris* who had lived a long time in the *Mogol* Dominions. Mr. *des Landes*, a different Person from him who Furnish'd me with the *Portuguese* Memoirs, and who had a great heart in *Monseiur Tavernier's* Work, was pleased to Favour me with his Observations. and help me out by his own Knowledge of the Empire whose History I Write, and where he had resided for a long Time.

The Treasure *Monsieur Manouchi* has sent us from the *Indies*, is not yet wholly exhausted. The Manuscript, besides the Relation of his own Adventures, contains almost an intire History of the present Emperor. We conclude the Volume, we now give the Publick, by placing *Orangzeb* on the Throne. However, We have given it the Title of a *General History of the Mogol Empire.* Mayn't it be justly said that the History of a Nation is Complete when it's carry'd down to the Times of the Reigning Emperor? If the Publick receives this part favorably as we shall continue it by the Life of *Orangzeb*, the Memoirs whereof we have now in our Hands. 'Twill perhaps be a Pleasure to see the oldest Sovereign upon

Earth, regulating and extending by the profoundest Politicks, an Empire obtain'd at first by Arts of Hypocrisy and Intrigue.

If we have only given an Abrigdment of the Life and Conquests of the Founder of the *Mogel* Empire, it's because we wou'd not repeat what the Publick was inform'd of before. *Tamerlane* is almost as well known in *France* as our own Heroes at Home.

We have therefore dwelt, in that scatch of his History, which we have here given, only on Circumstances of the Life of this Conqueror no where else to be found but in the *Mogol* Chronicle. We have enlarg'd somewhat more on his Exploits in the *Indies*, and that Kind of Government which he there imposed on a Conquer'd People. This is a Point of History which never came to our Hands before, and which makes a Considerable part of the matter that remains to be treated. We shall think our selves very Fortunate if the Curiosity People generally have for Foreign Accounts, Recommends this as an agreeable Amusement, and makes 'em lay aside those dangerous Books, the Reading of which Corrupts the Mind.

A Table of the Mogol *Emperors, beginning from the Conquest by* Tamerlane, *according to their Successions.*

TAMERLANE Reigned Six Years, Nine Months, and Twenty Two Days, and died in the Year 806 of the *Egvra*, and in the Year of our Lord 1405.

Miracha Reigned Forty Six Years, and died in the Year of the *Egvra* 855, and in the Year of our Lord 1451.

Abouchaid Reigned Eight and Twenty Years, and was beheaded *Anno Christi* 1469.

Sec-Omor Reigned Four and Twenty Years, and died *Anno Chri.* 1493.

Babar Reigned Thirty Years, and died *Anno Chri.* 1530.

Amayum Reigned Two and Twenty Years, Nine Months, and Fourteen Days, and died *Anno Chri.* 1552.

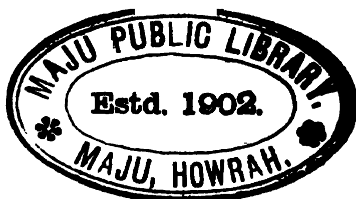
Akebar Reigned Three and Fifty Years and died *Anno Chri.* 1605.

A Table of the Mogol *Emperors.*

Jehan-Guir Reigned Two and Twenty Years, and died *Anno Chri.* 1627.

Cha-Jaham Reigned Nine and Thirty Years, and was deposed by his Son *Orangzeb.*

Orangzeb came to the Crown in the Year 1656.



THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE OF THE MOGOL.

TAMERLANE.

THE largest Volume wou'd scarce suffice to describe the Exploits of a Prince, who having receiv'd his Being where *Alexander* finisht his Conquests, brought Victory back again to almost the same Ground from whence *Alexander* had banish'd it. *Tamerlane* or *Timurlenk* is a Compound of Two *Tartar* Words. Timur signifies Iron; so the People call'd this Hero, because always bred up in the midst of

Arms. *Lenk* imports a Limping or Lameness. In Effect this Prince came into the World with a Weakness in one of his Legs. Timur was born at *Caseh* a small Village belonging to a Province of *Tartary*, known to the *Europeans* by the Name of Tans-Oxane, from its Situation on the other side the River Oxus, which the Eastern Nations call at this day *Abiamu*. The *Mogol* Chronicle signalizes the Birth of this Conqueror by a Fable no where else to be found, and which may properly be reckon'd among the Legends, with which the *Asiaticks* never fail to blazon the Origin of their Princes.

The Mother of *Tamerlane* before her Marrage was unexpectedly found big with Child. The Father of the young Princess was surprized: He broke out into Invectives against his Daughter, and was just ready to wash away the Stain She had brought on his Family in the Blood of the Delinquent, when the young Princess casting her self at her Father's Feet, declar'd to him the Cause of an Event so very surprizing even to her self. A Ray of the Sun darted thro' a small Crevise in one of the Windows of her Apartment, and folding it self about the young Lady, seem'd to caress and cover her over in a Robe of Light. This said the Princess is the true and only Cause of an Effect which has so justly

provoked you. The Father satisfied himself by his own Eyes of the Truth of an Adventure so very extraordinary, and judg'd that a Son sprung from the Light must needs efface the Glory of all his Ancestors.

A Fable so highly improbable, and which seems to be transferr'd from the Mother of *Gingiskan*, to that of Timur, has something of a Foundation in the Name of the Father of *Tamerlane*. He was call'd *Targay*, as much as to say, The Source of Light. He was one of the Lords of the first Quality, and of the highest Reputation in the Court of *Hou-ssain*. This Monarch reign'd at that time over all Turquestan, and the *Trans-Oxane* Province was a Dependancy of his Crown. *Tamerlane* was nearly related to the king, and one of the Descendants of the *Mogol* Race; The Word *Mogol* in its first Signification, is neither the Name of a Country, nor an Empire; its the Name of a Family which has been for the most part upon the Throne in the Southern parts of *Tartary*, and from hence *Tamerlane* derives his Original.

His House had already given to *Asia* in the Person of *Gingiskan* one of its most famous Conquerors; that illustrious *Mogol* brought under his Subjection, all those vast Countries comprised at this Day under the Name of the Two Tartaries, and after having carried his

victorious Arms into the Heart of *China*, he there establish'd an Empire which he left to his Posterity.

Houssain, one of the Descendants of *Gingiskan* possessed the Throne of the Southern *Tartars*, when *Tamerlane* came into the World it was in the Year 736, of the *Mahometan Egyra*, that is to say, in the Year of our Lord 1335. But notwithstanding his being descended of the *Mogol* Blood, he was bred at large in the Country, and the Employment of his Youth was that of looking after his Father's Flocks, according to the Custom of that People.

In his Infancy he gave uncommon Proofs of his Courage, and the Ascendant he had gained over the young Shepherds of his Country, made it plainly appear that he was born to Command; the Children of the Neighbourhood convey'd to him a kind of Sovereignity, and chose him for Judge, and in all Contests which happened about their Flocks, they addressed themselves to *Tamerlane*, and his Decisions were executed without Appeal. It happened, that a Camel of a strange Stud broke into the Pastures, which the young Subjects of this new Emperor, had appropriated to themselves by the Allotment of *Tamerlane*; They were in Suspence whether to keep or to send him back, and addrest themselves to their young Oracle.

who pronounc'd Judgment after this manner; If the way by which the Camel entered into your Pastures be an open and plain Country, you must let him return to the Place from whence he stray'd, but if it be a mountain Country, and that he cannot rejoyn his Stud without Danger of being devour'd by Tygers, you may seize him as your own.

This Childrens Play gave Beginning to one of the greatest Monarchies that ever was, the young Shepherds grew up in Years, and the Empire of Tamerlane over them increased proportionably.

He exercised some Acts of Sovereignty which rendred him formidable to his own People; one time an Account was brought him, that a Wolf had devoured one of their Sheep, for which he ordered the negligent Shepherd to be punished; sometime after one of his Subjects being convicted of stealing Cattle, the young king order'd him to be empaled; so vigorous an Act of Justice was to this Captain of Shepherds no small Proof of his Power over 'em, and put him upon Thoughts of inlarging his Dominion. The Relations of the deceased, found that *Tamerlane* had carry'd too far the Effects of a Power first given him by Children, and took up Arms against the Judge, and against

the Ministers of his Cruelty: Two Villages or rather Two Families camping in the neighbouring Plains, united themselves, in order to take Revenge of an Execution justly committed, but without Authority. *Tamerlane* led his young Warriors to the Combat, and by the Defeat of Two Families, he taught his Followers the Rudiments of Victory. The Fame of the Valour and Wisdom of Tamerlane drew immediately about him all the brave Youths of the Country. People flocked from all parts to become his Subjects, and strove with Emulation to express that Fidelity to him, which is due to a lawful Prince.

As the Lands of his Family did not suffice to feed so many Flocks, and give Scope enough to so many Shepherds, he resolv'd to inlarge his Possession by conquests; *Sultan Mahamud* was his next Neighbour, and the first he thought fit to attack. It was resolved carry the war into the Center of his Country, and to surprise his Capital or chief Town, which served as a Retreat for all the Shepherds of his Province.

Young Rovers without Experience in war, under the Conduct of a Captain as young as they, coming to invest a Capital City were quickly oblig'd to raise the Siege. The Armies of Tamerlane were dispersed, and himself Compell'd to return on Foot begging his Bread by

the Way, and Without Attendents. As he passe'd through a certain Village where he wanted wherewith to satisfy his Hunger, he met with an old Woman who knew him; she took him into her House, and presented this Prince of Shepherds with a Mess of hot Rice; *Tamerlane* being almost famished, fell to in the middle of the Platter, and feeding over-greedily hapn'd to burn himself; the old Woman laughing spoke to him after this manner; Learn for the future, Sir, to begin at the Borders and not in the middle, and remember that People expose themselves to many hazardous Accidents, when with too much Precipitation they carry War into the Centre of a Country without first becoming Masters of the Inlets to it.

Tamerlane ever after remembered this Lesson, and practised it in all his Expeditions, he never left any thing behind which might incommode him during his March, cut off his Retreat, or interrupt his Conquests; that Disgrace which was the only one he had received in all his Life, did not in the least discourge him, his scatter'd Subjects assembled about him by several ways, they honoured him as formerly, and in his Adversity, he affected more State and Severity than at other times. Meanwhile the Usurpation of *Tamerlane* extended it self by little and little into the

neighbouring Countries; And gaining Ground every Day, This king of Shepherds came at last so near the same Town (whence he had before been oblig'd to raise the Siege) that he determin'd to attempt it a second time. He soon became Master of the Place, by which he was in a Condition of rendering himself formidable to all his Neighbours..

The boldness of the Shepherds and their Leader, made a great noise at the Court of *Houssain*, King of that Canton of the *Tartars*, in which *Tamerlane* had usurp'd a kind of Sovereignty.

Houssain thought fit to stop the Progress of this young Warrior by force of Arms: his too near Neighbourhood to the Court by the defeat of *Mahumud*, gave the king some Umbrage, and he perswaded himself that with a small Body of disciplin'd Troops, he might easily disperse a handful of raw unexperienc'd Shepherds; never did Two Armies engage upon so unequal Terms; in that of the King's might be seen the glittering of Armour, his Men well provided with Cymiters, Bows and Arrows, as to the Arquebuss, altho' the Tartars had then invented it, we do not find they employ'd it in their Armies, it was chiefly used by 'em in Hunting; in that of *Tamerlane* his Men were Arm'd only with long Staffs pointed with Iron, and

with those kind of Javelins which Shepherds of *Tartary* make use of to defend their Flocks; on the other hand his Subjects were all in the Flower of their Age, and in that Stage of Life in which Men are most vigorous and best able to undergo a long Fight and Fatigue and have Fire enough to run upon danger without apprehending it: Add to this, that the affection they had for their King Chosen by themselves in their Infancy, and the Assurance they had from his former Victory, rendered 'em more intrepid. The General instructed (it seems) by Nature in the Art of War, supply'd by his Genius what he wanted in Experience.

The onset's begun, the Shepherds Squadrons, with their long pointed Poles, cou'd no where be broken, and *Tamerlane* who sought in Person at the Head of 'em perform'd Wonders; in fine, *Houssain* lost both his Life and Crown.

After this *Tamerlane* imagin'd, that with the Cavalry he had then on Foot, he might easily over-run all *Asia*; the Shepherds his Subjects had cull'd out of their Studs the Sprightliest and most vigorous Horses, they train'd 'em up for War, and accustomed 'em from the begining to draw into Squadrons, their continual Practice at Home of riding and managing Horses, was afterwards of no small Consequence to those new Conquerors in the

strange Countries whether they carry'd their Armies.

In the mean time, *Tamerlane* entred into *Samercand*, without opposition; the Gates of the Capital of the kingdom of *Houssain* were thrown open to the Conqueror, and the People were not displeas'd to see a Prince of the *Mogol* Race upon a Throne which his Ancestors had possess'd; 'twas in this City that *Tamerlane* establish'd the Seat of a Vast Empire which he form'd by his Victories, and preserv'd by his Prudence; this Conqueror transported afterwards to *Samercand* all the Riches of *Asia*, the Spoil of the *Indies*, of Persia, of Syria, and of Egypt, which he ravag'd or reduc'd under his Obedience.

The taking of Samercand should be look'd on as the beginning of his Reign. It happen'd according to the Chronicle in the 771 Year of the *Egyra*, and in the Year of our Lord 1370, *Tamerlane* being then in the Five and Thirtieth Year of his Age. 'Tis true the Tartarian Conqueror had begun his Conquests at that time of his Age, in which *Alexander* had Finish'd his, but he did not come into the World with equal advantages. *Alexander* was born to Purple, and *Tamerlane* acquir'd a Crown; the one by his Birth inherited Subjects, and the other purchas'd 'em with his Blood; the Macedonian found *Phalanks*

ready to his hand, and the *Tartar* form'd his own Squadrons; the former was by Birth intitled to the homage and affection of his Subjects, the latter extorted Obedience from Strangers by the Superiority of his Genius, and by an Ascendant which Nature had given him over other Men. *Tamerlane* without having Aristotle for his Tutor, had all the Virtues and none of the Vices of *Alexander*, he was Sober, Continent, Moderate, Strict to the Duties of his Religion, and notwithstanding what has been said by one of his Enemies who has given us his History, he was not too Cruel for a Conqueror.

This new Monarch still pursuing the Project of Victories, which he had form'd to himself, begun by the Conquest of the most neighbouring People of *Samarcand*. It happens for the most Part that Conquerors coming from Northern Climates direct their Course towards the South, into the more fertile and delightful Countries; accordingly it was in the *Indies* that the Torrent first broke out. *Tamerlane* met with People upon the Banks of the River Indus of a different Religion from his own. The Tartars of his time were generally speaking *Mahometans*; for his Part he follow'd the Religion of *Gingiskan* which had hitherto been preserv'd in the family of the *Mogol*. He worship'd the Eternal God Al-

mighty and Invisible, perfectly one, without Distinction of Nature or persons, he observ'd the laws of Nature Compris'd in eight Commandments, not unlike to those of the Decalogue; as to the Dreams of the *Alkoran* he despis'd 'em, and was at the same time an enemy to Idolaters and Mussalmen; he had no Aversion to the laws of Christ. 'Tis said, that the Queen Consort of *Gingiskan* professed the Christian Religion, and inspir'd her Posterity with favourable Sentiments for it. Thus Ambition mingled with zeal, to exterminate Idolatry, engag'd *Tamerlane* to carry his Arms into *India*.

Cabul, one the most northern towns of India situate between Persia, Tartary, and the River Indus, gives its name to a kingdom, which is called Cabulestan. The king of that Religion the most exposed to the Inroads of *Tamerlane*, underwent all the efforts of the first expedition which this Conqueror had made beyond his own dominions; *Cabulestan* was pillag'd, ravag'd, and made tributory to the Tartars. I know not what accident all of a sudden turn'd the storm against *Persia*; but 'tis certain, that *Tamerlane* without having passed the Indus, carry'd back to the west those Victorious arms with which he had already made some progress in the East.

Several other writers have followed the

Tartar Prince in his Conquests over *Persia* and *Syria*. *Herat* already taken and destroy'd, render'd him Master of *Corasan*. The subjecting of *Georgia* cost him no more than the Siege of *Nicabour Persia* gave him greater Opposition, *Tamerlane* Spent two Years, in the Reduction of that Country. In fine, after becoming Master of *Sohiras*, he subdu'd the *Persians*, partly by Force and partly by fair Means. From thence he led his Victorious Troops towards the North into Countries so remote, that the Sun was seen above the *Horizon* for the Space of four intire Days; here the † *Imans* which follow'd his Army dispens'd with the Attendance of the Soldiers at Evening Prayers, because, said they, there was no Distinction to be made between the rising and the setting of the Sun.

† *Name of the Mahomitan Doctors.*

This Excursion render'd *Tamerlane* Master of both the Tartaries; but the Sweetness of the Climate and Revolt of a seditious Party in *Persia* call'd him suddenly back again to that Country. *Bagdat* still retain'd something of the Lustre of Antient *Babylon*: 'Twas the Capital of a Country of which *Sultan Bin-Avis* a Mogol of the Race of Gingiskan had possessed himself. *Tamerlane* did not let him long enjoy this his new Dominion, he drove him from *Bagdat*, forc'd him to repass the *Tigris*

and afterwards go seek for Refuge, with the *Sultan* of *Egypt.*

During these Expeditions, the *Indians,* first attacqu'd by *Tamerlane,* were at leisure to take breath, and provide against any new Attempts from this dangerous Enemy; the Slavery to which the Kingdom of *Cabul,* was reduc'd, made all the People inhabiting the other Side the Indus dread the like Treatment.

The *Rajas* who govern'd 'em, and who divided amongst themselves several Provinces of that fertile Country were prepar'd to withstand the Efforts of *Tamerlane,* should he turn his Arms that way. Their Fears were not without Ground, nor their Preparations unnecessary. The Revolt of Cabul, call'd back the *Tartar* Army from *Syria,* drew all the Forces of the Conqueror upon the Indians, and thereby gave him a handle for the Conquest of a Country where his Posterity does at this day reign, and where it will for ever retain the Name of his Family by the Establishment of the Empire of the *Mogol.*

The Return of *Tamerlane* into the *Indies,* appears by the Chronicle, to be in the year 800 of the *Egyra,* which falls in with the Year of Christ 1399. He was then at the Age of 64, from which time we may com-

pute the Beginning of the Empire, whereof I now write the History.

The Destruction of *Cabul*, was to *Tamerlane* but as an inlet which gave him Passage into the Heart of that noble Country, which still goes by the Name of *Indoustan*, but which by little and little looses that Name to retain for the future that of *Mogol*. 'Tis situate between the Indus and the Ganges, and watered by an infinite number of Rivers and Canals, with which Nature and Art do plentifully supply it for the convenient Transportation of the immense Riches of the Country.

The *Indus* more towards the West, runs its Course from North to South and comes to discharge itself in the *Indian* Sea. The Ganges taking its source almost at the same height with the *Indus* towards the North, passed to the South into the Golf of Bengall; all the Countries between these two great Rivers were the Conquest of *Tamerlane*; that *Hero* met in the *Indies* with more Opposition and more Valour than in all *Asia* besides. A second Porus, made a second *Alexander*, and much about the same Place, run thro' Difficulties and Hazards worthy of his great Courage. *Rvna*, was a Heathen Prince whose Dominion was almost scituate in the midst of *Indoustan*, *Tamerlane* writ him one

of those Threatening Letters by which very often Kingdoms and Commonwealth submitted to him without Effusion of Blood; he made him a Defiance of War in case of refusing to become his Vassal and Tributary; the Young Prince receiv'd the Menaces of the *Tartar* with Contempt, and made no other Answer to his Letter than that of appearing at the Head of a formidable Army; it far exceeded in Numbers that of T*amerlane,* and his Troops were compos'd of *Rageputes,* a Nation which passes among the *Indians* for invincible.

It seem'd, as if all Indoustan to a Man had taken up arms against T*amerlane; Rana's* Cavalry consisted of more than 100000; T*amerlane* had not then above twelve Thousand Horse, but his Troops were accustomed to War, and the confidence they had in their General together, with that of being us'd to conquer, made 'em never to despair of anything. The Two Armies were now in sight of each other, when the Principal Officers of the Tartars, daunted at the Numbers of the Indians, began to think of retreating: Have we not, said they, one to another, serv'd this harebrain'd Cripple long enough, who to the Loss of a Leg has now in this last Battle added the Loss of an Arm! 'tis not enough for T*amerlane* to see our Bodies, like his own, lop'd Limb after Limb to the na-

ked Trunk. but he'll have us loose our very lives in a Climate so different from our own, and where the raging Heat must needs destroy all those who may escape the poison'd Lances of the *Indians*. This seditious Discourse communicated to the Ranks, made the Tartars resolve on quiting the *Indies*, and leaving *Rana* in the quiet Possession of his Liberty; in the mean time *Tamerlane* was very easy in his tent, and depending on the Valour and Experience of his Troops, had no great Apprehensions from the Numbers of the Enemy, when he was inform'd of the Design of his Troops to quit the Enterprise. As he had not been accustomed to quell Mutinies, and perhaps did not himself believe it safe to hazard a Battle with a handful of frighted Souldiers against so numerous an Army, he was likewise of Opinion to retire; the Tents were struck, and the Baggage beginning to file off, when one of the Mule-drivers of the Army coming up to the King, and prostrating himself in his Presence, spoke after this manner; Sir, we have seen you hitherto victorious over all the Kings that have ever dar'd to enter the Lists against you, and give the Law to *Persia*, and *Syria* after having first subdued that Country which gave you Birth. You have chosen amongst the vanquished, Troops able to conquer the remainder of the Universe. The *Tartars*

were never yet afraid of an Enemy having you for their Leader; and the Leader himself seems how to authorize the Cowardice of his Troops. Hast thou, fly before this tumultuous Army of Indians, ill arm'd and worse disciplin'd, but remember that you shan't save your Life without extream hazard; & that you will certainly loose all the Profit and Glory of your former Conquests; these Words utter'd with an Air of Enthusiasm, by one of the meanest of the People, seemed to carry in 'em something of Inspiration; the Soldiers star'd at one another and each could easily read in his Fellows Countenance an Abhorrence of their common Cowardice. *Tamerlane*, who perhaps, had prepar'd and posted the Mule-driver to make this Speech, laid hold of the happy Conjuncture to recover and animate his troops, they drew up in order of Battle, and advanc'd in Sight of the Enemy; but mark the Stratagem which *Tamerlane* made use of to engage a numerous Army, by which he was afraid to be surrounded. He posted himself behind a Defile, or Pass, too narrow to make a large Front: He plac'd some of his best Troops at the entrance of the Pass, and then seeming to give way upon the first Charge of the Enemy, order'd his *Tartars* to fly before 'em. His Cavalry saved themselves behind a Mountain with a Swiftness peculiar to

the Horses of Tartary, the Indians pursu'd the Run-aways with full Speed, and pass'd the Defile where their first Squadrons met with little or no Opposition. When about half their Army were got into the Plain, the Run-aways fac'd about of a sudden, and with their drawn Cimiters charging the Indian Cavalry, whose Horses were pretty well blown, made a horrible slaughter among the Enemy. This Victory render'd T*amerlane* Master of all *Indoustan*, and *Rana* was forc'd to accept a Peace upon such Conditions as the Conqueror wou'd grant him. He was oblig'd to pay annually a considerable Tribute: Tartar Governours, were plac'd in the principal Fortresses of *Indoustan*, particularly at Dely the Capital of the *Indies*, subject at that time to king *Patane* a Mahometan by Religion; and the *Raias* afwards observ'd the same Maxim with regard to their Conqueror, which they have ever since constantly struck to, that is to defend themselves the best they can against the Invasions of the Mahometans, but never to attack 'em unprovok'd. Victorious T*amerlane* return'd to *Samercand* loaden with the Spoils of *India* after having laid the Foundation of an Empire, which alone of all the Conquests made by him continues in his Family.

It is not my Business in this Place to mention any more of the Exploits of T*amer*-

lane than just what is necessary to shew who was the first Founder of the *Mogol* Empire. The Conqueror's Ambition wou'd nôt yet allow him to enjoy peaceably the Fruits of his Conquest, at an Age wherein the Decays of Strength occasion for the most Part a Decay of Courage; T*amerlane* departed from Smar*cand,* with all the Vigour and Vivacity of Young Man in the Flower of his Age. Sultan *Bon-Avis* was the first Victim, which he sacrific'd to his Resentment; that *Mogal* For merely vanquish'd by T*amerlane,* and driven from *Bagdat,* was again restor'd by the Assistance of the *Souldan* of Egypt. He made 'inroads even into *Persian-Iraque,* of which T*amerlane* had given the Government of his Son Miracha; there needed no more to determin the Conqueror, not to suffer any longer the Insults of a vanquish'd and Rebel Prince. He was driven clear out of *Persia,* and constrained to fly into *Notolia* to *Bajazet* the first of that name; in fine, Tamerlane after becoming Master of *Damascus,* took and sackt the City of *Bagdat*; all trembl'd and submitted at his Approach; the *Soldan* of *Egypt* himself, the first who gave Refuge to *Ben-Avis,* respected the Power of T*amerlane,* and caused Proclamation of his Name to be made in all the *Mosque* of *Egypt.*

Bajazet alone had not yet try'd the Valour of T*amarlane*, and seemed not to be at all afraid of it; he had even the Boldness to insult some Princess of *Caramania*, Allies of T*amerlane*; The Insolence of *Bajazet* increased with his Conquests. The Defeat of *Sigismond*, King of *Hungary*, and that of the Duke of *Nevers*, followed by the Principal Nobility of France, near *Nicopolis* in *Bulgaria*, had emboldened the *Othoman* to attempt the Siege of *Constantinople*; he had already reduc'd the Emperor *Emanuel* to yield to the *Mahometans* part of the Suburbs of the City to build 'em *Mosques* in, and erect a *Musualman* Tribunal: in fine, he compell'd the *Souldans* of *Egvpt* to give him the Title of *Sultan* of *Roum*, that is to say, of *Greece*, and of the *Roman* Empire, These swelling Titles, and practicularly that of *Ilderim*, that is to say, of T*hunder*; which *Bajazet* assumed, his Victories and undaunted Courage, together with a Sense of Compassion for the Emperor *Emanuel*, stirr'd up T*amerlane's* Indignation against the *Othoman*. The T*arter* cou'd not brook a River of his Glory in Asia, he turn'd his Arms against *Bajazet*, and advanc'd to fight a *Mussalman*, whose Sect he abhorr'd in Favour of a Christian Prince, whose Religion he esteemed.

The Tartarian Army March'd joyfully against *Bajazet*, and look'd on the Spoils

of that *Sultan* as the richest Booty they cou'd carry back to *Samercand*; Tamerlane alone appear'd thoughtful, and uneasy during the March; some attributed that Air of Melancholy which sat on his Brow to meerold Age, which render'd him daily more and more shagrin and serious; others to the uncertainty of Success, in a War undertaken against a Prince crown'd with Laurels and Troops accustomed to Victory; one of his Captains took the Liberty to ask Tamerlane (attended by a great many of his principal Officers) the Cause of his Desquiet; if I seem to be thoughtful, says he, 'tis because I cannot yet come to a Resolution in an Affair which perhaps you yourself cou'd not easily determine; I am thinking whether I might find one amongst you capable of governing the Kingdoms we are now going to conquer, and honourably filling that Post which *Bajazet* holds; an Answer so full of Confidence very much enconrag'd the *Tartars*, they secur'd some places in their March, to serve for a Retreat in case of Accidents: The Two Armies came in view of each other in a noble Plain, which extends from *Ancyra* to *Mount-stella*; the very Ground in which *Pompey* had formerly defeated *Mithridates*. Tamerlane foresaw that *Mussealmen* wou'd have the Advantage in a close Fight, and knew they were more dextrous in the Use of the Sabre

than the *Tartars*, who on the other hand were much the better Archers; than in fighting at a just distance, they might make a greater Slaughter of Enemy, and run less Hazard; for that reason, he order'd his Men not to advance nearer the Musselmen's Squadrons than Bow Shot, and when they had discharg'd immediately to wheel, and return in due time to the Charge, as soon as they had prepar'd their Bows. The first attack of the *Tartars* was very furious, the Air was darkened with Showers of Arrows and the Earth cover'd with the Bodies of the slain; the *Ottomans* prest the *Tartars* with Sable in hand, and when they came up with any of their Squadrons, they broke thro' 'em, and put their Ranks into Disorder; but a fresh Shower of Arrows falling a second time upon the *Ottomans* Army, the Tartars recovered their Ground again; the Officers in the mean time giving their Orders o' both sides, with a Prudence and Presence of Mind, worthy the Two greatest Captains of *Asia*. *Bajazet* sought after the manner of the *Romans*, and *Tamerlane* according to the Custom of the *Parthians*.

'Twas doubtful for a long time, which of the Two Armies shou'd win the Day; at last the Victory inclin'd to *Tamerlane's* side. Some auxiliary *Tartars*, brought to *Bajazet*

by the Way of *Russia* to reinforce his Army, were ashamed of drawing their Swords against their Country-men, and loath that *Tamerlane* the greatest Captain they ever had, shou'd lose the Honour of the Day. They quitted *Bajazet* and went over to *Tamerlane*; the Victory was no longer in Ballance, all was in Confusion and Disorder in the *Ottoman* Army; the *Tartarian* cavalry pursu'd the Run-aways with Sabre in hand, which they had never made use of in the Heart of Battle. *Bajazet* cou'd not escape the Swiftness of the *Tartarian* Horse, and fell into the Hands of the Conqueror. The *Ottoman* was quickly sensible of the Gentleness and Humanity of the *Tartar*; *Tamerlane* was incapable of insulting the Misfortunes of the vanquished; he ordered a Tent to be prepared for him near his own, and he constantly eat at his own Table, with all the Marks of Distinction due to his Quality, and had all the Diversions Capable of making him forget his Disgrace. This good Treatment is not easily reconcil'd to that Iron Cage, in which 'tis pretended that *Bajazet* was carry'd about by *Tamerlane*, that's an Ornament I wou'd not deprive my History of, did I believe it sufficiently warranted; But besides, that the best Historians make no mention of it, the Silence of the *Mogol Chronicle* in that partcular makes me think that the Cage, was only an agree-

ble Fiction invented by the Greeks, inveterate Enemies to *Baiazet'*. They took a Pleasure it seems in representing the Confinement of that unhappy Prince, under Circumstances which flatter'd their Hatred for him.

The Death of *Bajazet*, who poyson'd himself, as 'tis said, either from a Disgust of Life, or the fear of being led in Triumph by his Conqueror, was quickly followed by the Death of *Tamerlane*. The *Mogol-Chronicle* relates it with Circumstances very different from those, which we meet with in the *European* Histories; I shan't determine which of the Two deserve most Credit but 'tis a Variation in History, of which I think we ought not to deprive the publick. It was not then at *Otrar* that *Tamerlane* departed this life, when he carried the war into *Kathai* and *China* nor yet was it at *Samarçand* in that fatal Combustion of his Family, but in the Indies, and at *Cabul*, when he was about penetrating farther into *Indoustan*, and pushing the Conquest of that vast Empire to the limits of the Ocean.

Tamerlane (Says the Chronicle) had forbidden upon pain of Death, those bloody Combats of Squadron against Squadron, in which the bravest of his Soldiers were accustomed to exercise themselves; 'twas a point of Discipline which he took so much

the more to heart, as his Army was dimi-nish'd more by these sorts of parlicular Com-bats, than by Distempers and Battels: For all these, *Miracha* the third Son of *Tamer-lane*, forgetting the Orders of his Father, and General, put himself at the Head of a Troop of Tarters, and encountered another of the same Nation with so much fury, that very few surviv'd of either side; this Disobedience provoked *Tamerlane* to such a degree, that he was perfectly beside himself; twice he pro-nounc'd Sentence of Death against his Son and twice recal'd it, divided between the Love of good Order, and his tenderness for *Mira-cha*; agitated by these two contrary Passion he fell ill of a Fever; his Age, his Vexation, his Fatigues, the Distemper and Heat of the Climate, reduc'd him to a State which made his Recovery despair'd of; then it was that he would no longer suffer any body to come near him, but an *Iman*, who had all along been privy to his no Notions of Religion; He made him Exhortations according to Principles of Deism, a fatal Poison which lurks in the Hearts of all the Princes of *Asia*; the Doc-tors Exhortations wrought great Impressions upon T*amerlane*, and full of Assurance in the Mercy of God, and a Dread of his Justice, aged 66 years, he expired, confessing the Unity of God. Unhappy Prince who would

think of approaching that God, but thro' the Merits of *Jesus Christ*, who alone is the way and the Life; 'Tis our part to adore the Decrees of Heaven in this Hero, who all along understood the Christian Religion, who lov'd it, who always protected, and yet never profess'd it. The *Mogol* Chronicle says, he did not Reign above 6 Years 9 Months and 22 Days; doubtless that Account must commence from his last Conquests in *Indoustan*. Tamerlane dy'd in the Year 806 of the *Egyra*; and in the year of our Lord 1405; 'tis said he was interr'd at *Cabul*.

MIRACHA.

MIRACHA, who was the Cause of the Death of his Father, succeeded him in the Empire of the *Indies*. By the Partition of the Kingdoms which the Conqueror had made among his Children, *Persian-Iraque*, *Cabulestan* and the *Indies* fell to *Miracha*: It happens very frequently, that the Son of a warlike and active Prince fall into Luxury and Sloath, and that the Heirs of a mighty Conqueror become in their Turn the Conquest of a stronger than they; It did not fare altogether so ill

with *Miracha*; if he did not extend his Father's Conquests, or was not able to preserve intire the Inheritance left him 'twas not so much for Want of Courage, as good Fortune which seem'd weary of waiting on his Father so long, and so constantly. Even in the Life time of T*amerlane* *Miracha* who had been appointed Governor of *Persia*, was always in War and always unfortunate. *Sultan Ben-Avis* had bid fair for driving him quite into T*artary*; had not the Father come in to the Assistance of the Son, that noble Part of the Victories of T*amerlane* would heve been Lost in his own Life-time.

After the Death of T*amerlane*, *Miracha* wou'd not fix the Seat of his Empire in the *Indies*; he made choice for that end of East *Persia* situate in a Climate much more Temperate than *Indoustan*; by fixing his ordinary Residence at *Herat*, he placed himself in the Centre of his Dominions, besides, the Empire of the *Mogols*; in the *Indies*, was not yet firmly enough established, to venture to keep his Court there: 'Tis true, T*amerlane* had seiz'd the best Fortresses of *Indoustan*, put in faithful Governors, and levy'd considerable Tributes of all the Rajas; but his Authority subsisted no longer in the *Indies* than the Terror of his Name; *Miracha*, whose Valour was not so much respected

as that of his Father, had much ado to get from *Cabul* and *Indoustan* the Tribute imposed by Tamerlane; He came every Year with a great Army to show himself to the *Indians*, to levy his Tributes, and thereby maintain an Air of Dominion and Sovereignty. All the *Rajas* of the Indies were not equally Subject to the Son of their Conqueror; the King of *Cascar* took up Arms against *Miracha*; that ill Fortune which always attended the Son of *Tamerlane*, deliver'd him into to the Hands of the Indian King; he was taken in Battel, but the Vanquisher made a generous use of his Victory. He gave *Miracha* his Liberty upon this single Condition, that the Kingdom of *Cascar*, shoul'd be for ever free from Tribute.

Miracha, who had try'd his Fortune no less than seven times with the *Raja* and always came by the worst, was at last so fortunate to overcome him in Battle, and in his Turn to take him Prisoner. The Tartar made it very apparent, that he had neither the Generosity, nor Humanity of the *Indian*; far from restoring the Prisoner to his Liberty with that Greatness of Soul with which he restor'd him to his, he confined the *Raja* to a close Prison and there caus'd his Eyes to be put out.

This enormous Act of Ingratitude, was punished by the Hands of the same Person

who had been the Subject of it; the Raja blind as he was, convey'd Death to the Heart of *Miracha* by a poison'd Arrow; behold his Artifice to accomplish it.

The Tartars of all the Nations round, 'em have ever been esteemed the skillfullest in shooting with the Bow, and lancing the Javalin; the *Tartar Militia* did every day exercise themselves in shooting at Butts; *Miracha* particularly excelled at this Exercise, and as he thought himself superior in it to all others, he was surprised to hear that the *Raja* of *Cascar*, tho' deprived of his Eyes, coul'd hit a Mark exactly, provided some Noise were made near the Place where he was to shoot. The Relation of this wonderful Address of the *Raja* seemed altogether incredible to the King; he ordered his Prisoner to be led forth in his own Presence, and in the midst of all Officers of his Court. They put into his Hands a Bow and Arrows, but order'd him not to shoot till they had given him the Word. The *Raja* even in his Misfortune, assuming an Air of Majesty, which well became him, I shan't says he, upon this occasion obey any body but my Conqueror, and he alone has right to give me Orders: Whenever the King commands I am all Obedience. Having thus spoke, he made ready his Arrow, and expected when the King

would be pleased to give him the Word; hereupon *Miracha* spoke, and ordered him to shoot towards the Place where he now heard the noise; at these Words the *Raja* let fly, and shot *Miracha* directly through the Body; he was carry'd off just expiring, and the *Raja* was cut in pieces by Miracha's Guards: The King of *Cascar* in quitting a miserable Life, had however the barbarous consolation of giving his Death's Wound to an ungrateful Enemy: *Miracha* dyed in the Year of the *Egyra* 855, and of *Jesus Christ* 1451, he reigned Forty Six Years, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Abouchaid*.

The End of the Reign of Miracha.

ABOUCHAID.

TAMERLANE got himself the esteem of his people, by a transcendency of personal Merit, and Miracha had gained their Affection, by the sweet Influences of a mild Administration. *Abouchaid*, in the first Years of his Reign was recommended by neither: He lived at *Herat* a lazy inglorious Life in the Delights of a Seraglio, void of the good Nature of his Father, and of the Bravery of his Grandfather; He seemed to have no further

concern with his People, than that of loading 'em with Taxes, or putting 'em to Death by the cruellest Tortures; So much Rigor render'd him odious, and so little Merit render'd him contemptible to all; they took a Resolution to deliver themselves from the Tyrant, and to take away his Life. *Abouchaid* was not ignorant of the Design, formed against him, and perceiving he coul'd not escape the fury of the Populace, or the Treason of the Great, he took a Resolution suitable enough to his mean Spirit. He disguised himself in the Habit of a *Faquir*; those are a kind of vagrant Penitents, who live upon common Charity, and stroll from Town to Town, abusing the Credulity of the People by the Appearances of an austere Life. *Abouchaid* thus disguised, wandered from Province to Province, without any other Attendance, than that of Two trusty Followers, who were all along the Companions of his Pilgrimage.

In the mean time, the People in the Room of *Abouchaid*, placed one of his Brothers on the Throne, and hoped for gentler Treatment from a King of their own making; they found by Experience, that they had made an unhappy Choice, and that the second Son of *Miracha* was rather bloundier than his elder Brother. The Cruelties exercised by the

new King, were not so much as color'd with the Pretences of Justice, his Brutality proceeded to that of shedding of Blood meerly for the sake of so doing. The Great and the Small were equally persecuted; the Rich and the Poor, the Lord and the Slave expir'd in the midst of Torments. So savage a Disposition drew upon the younger Brother still more Curses than the elder deserved, and all began to regret the Loss of *Abouchaid*, barbarous as he was; they made strict Search for the fugitive King resolving to set him on that Throne which they had obliged him to abandon; they were so diligent, that at last they happily light of him among that prodigious Number of *Fàquirs*, who struggle up and down the *Indies*. *Abouchaid* refused the Crown which he had quitted, and after his Restoration, apply'd himself diligently to all the Functions which might render him worthy of it; the Experience he had gain'd in the Day of his Adversity, taught him to become more moderate in his good Fortune.

The Beginning of this new Reign was no less agreeable to the People, than the late Government was insupportable; *Abouchaid* treated even those courteously, who most contributed to his Banishment. The Rebellion of my People is sufficiently punished, says he, by the Persecution of a Tyrant they plac'd

over themselves. The only Act of Cruelty he committed, was against his Brother, who had sat in his Place; he order'd him to be beheaded and by so doing, reveng'd himself, and reveng'd his People for the Cruelty and Usurpation of the Tyrant; 'ts from this Example of *Abouchaid* that the *Mogal* Emperors have derived the Policy of putting their Brothers to Death; we shall see but too Many of those cruel Catastrophes in the Sequel this History

Abouchaid made full Reparations for his pass'd Indolence and for Crime he had committed in the Murther of his Brother by the noble Exploits afterwards performed by him *Ulubeg* his Cousin German and grand Child, as well as he of *Tamerlane* proved an unjust Father; *Abdulatife* his eldest Son was constrained to quit *Samarcand,* upon an Umbrage justly taken, at the preference, given by *Ulubeg,* to his Second Son *Abdullaziz.* *Ulubeg* Reigned in South *Tartary* as Heir to his Father *Schabrokh.* By the Partition of *Tamarlane's* Dominions the *Trans-oxane* Provinces fell to the share of this eldest Son of that Conqueror, from whom *Ulubeg* was issued. *Abdulatife* took up Arms against his Father, and retired to *Herat,* under the Protection of *Abouchaid.* This seemed a fair Opportunity to this Prince to quit that sloathful Life in

which he had hitherto languished, and to recommend himself to the esteem of his People by Actions of Valour. Accordingly *Abouchaid* received *Abdalatife* honourably and resolved to support him with his Forces; he, marched at the Head of an Army which he conducted in Person to the Walls of *Samarcand*, and made War against the first House of his Family in the Country from whence it derives it's Original. *Ulubeg* was then engaged far from *Samarcand* in a War against some of his Neighbours. *Abdallaziz*, brother to *Abdalatife*, and the Object of his Jealousie commanded the Town in the Absence of his Father; the young T*artar* made a Defence worthy the Grand child of Tamerlane. Thus were the Princes of the *Mogol* Blood seen to take up Arms one against another, to fight for Glory, and for Interest: *Abdallatife* eldest Son of *Uulbeg*, could not brook the Presence which his Father had given his younger Brother; *Abouchaid* maintained the Rights of the Elder, whom his Father would deprive of his just Pretensions, and ran in Pursuit of Glory, to efface the Shame of his former Life. A*bdallaziz* defended together with his Country, the Rights of his Father to a Kingdom, in which he hoped one day to succeed by the Exclusion of his Elder Bro-

ther. The Seige was tedious and bloody; at last *Abouchaid* became Master of S*amarcand*, establisht the presumptive Heir on the Throne which of right belonged to him, after the Death of his Father, and returned to *Herat* covered with *Lawrels*. A*bdallatife* carry'd too far the Advantages, which the taking of *Samarchand* gave him over his Father. He marched to meet *Ulubeg*, engaged him near to *Balke*, defeated him in a pitched Battle, and deprived that Person of Life from whom he had received his own. This unhappy Man did not long enjoy the Fruits of his Parricide; he was cut off after a few Months Reign, and left the Kingdom of S*amarcand* to *Abdalla* his Third Brother after having caused *Abdallaziz* to be put to Death.

In the meantime, A*bouchaid* enjoyed peaceably at *Herat* the Glory he had acquired by the taking of *Samarcand*; full of that Assurance, which Victory inspires, he judged from the Example of his Predecessor, that he might march his victorious Army to the *Indies*, and levy the Tribute imposed by T*amerlane* upon the *Rajas*. He found the *Authority* of the *Mogals* very much diminished in *Indoustan*. The Contempt his People had for him at *Herat*, during the beginning of his Reign, had spread as far as the Indies. The T*artar* Governours which his Predecessors

had put into the principal Fortresses of *Indoustan*, had in a manner shaken off their Obedience, and set up for many petty Kings. *Abouchaid* chastiz'd their insolence upon his first Approach, exacted from the *Heathen-Rajas* the Tribute which they had oblig'd themselves to pay, and in fine, recover'd an Authority in the *Indies*, equal to that of his Predecessors.

In all Appearence, *Abouchaid* was perfectly chang'd, and the Virtues shining then in his Person, seem'd to efface the vices which dishonour'd him in his Youth. At bottom he was still he same, and Nature would break out by Intervals. The Two Companions of his Fortune, who had followed him in his Exile in the Disguise of *Faquirs*, expected he would make 'em returns suitable to their Services and Fidelity; they presented themselves before him at the Time that he was desposing of the Governments, which he had taken away from some of his *Tartar* Subjects, whose Fidelity he suspected, and beg'd Employment of him in Recompence their former Services; nothing could be more reasonable than granting to faithful Servants the Favours taken from Rebels. And yet the ingrateful *Abouchaid* scornfully repulsed those to whom he ow'd the highest Obligations. Away, says he to 'em, get you gon out of my

Sight, and never let me see your hated faces more. How have we offended you, Sir, said the Two old Servants, we never forsook you in your Adversity, we attended you in your Exile, we assisted you with our Counsels, and have shar'd with you in all the Austerities of an ignominious and painful Life. 'Tis for these very Reasons that I hate you, answers *Abouchaid*, with an Air of Passion, which made the Two Courtiers tremble; I owe you too much to be ever able to make the Returns you deserve; I am asham'd to be over-oblig'd to Subjects, and your Presence is to me an eternal Reproach of Ingratitude; begon, as far as Feet can carry you and let me never read your Names more among those of the Officers of my Crown.

This Instance of the Ingratitude of *Abouchaid*, grew into a Proverb. *M. Manouchi* read the Account of it in the Chronicle; but one of the Officers belonging to the *Sultaness* Mother of *Oranzeb*, confirm'd it afterwards, as he complain'd to him one Day of the Ingratitude of some Princes to whom he was Physician. "It's the Nature said he of the Mogols. "you shall receive a Thousand Caresses from "'em, while they have occasion for you, "but once their Business is done they make "you as many Returns of Ingratitude, these "are indeed the true Heirs of *Abouchaid*.

The Expredition which the King had made to the *Indies*, was not succeeded by a lazy voluptuous Life; he had but too much experienced the unhappy Consequences of it, to unman himself any more with the Pleasures of a Seraglio: And therefore resolved to march a new Army to *Samarcand*, whither he had already opened the way by his former Victory. *Abdalla* reign'd there at that time, and possessed the Throne, which his Two elder Brothers had a long time disputed. The Chronicle does not mention the Motives which put *Abouchaid* upon making War with a Prince of his own Blood; without doubt the Sons of T*amerlane* were like their Father: They made no scruple of entering into an unjust War, provided 'twas attended with a probability of success. *Uzbec-Kan*, who in Process time gave his Name to a Race of *Tartars*, who are call'd at this Day *Usbecks*, was Grand-child of the famous *Houssain*, whom T*amarlane*, tho' but young, had deprived of his Life, and of the T*rans-Oxane* Provinces. This Prince was at that time Lord of a small Territory lying in the West T*artary* upon the Coasts of the *Caspian* Sea. *Abouchaid* joyn'd with the Successor of *Houssain*, despoil'd by T*amerlane*, to wrest the Scepter from a *Mogal* Prince his Cozen-german. *Samarcand* was besig'd a second time, but *Usbec-Kan* and

Abouchaid were repulsed with Loss; one retired into *Bokhara,* where he pass'd that Winter, and the other took his Quarters in the Neighbourhood of *Samarcand* till the Return of the Spring. At the Beginning of the next Campagne, *Abouchaid* of one side, and *Usbec-Kan* of the other, advanc'd again towards *Samarcand: Abdalla* did not think it proper to wait the coming up of the Enemy within his Capital, as he had done the Year before; he took the Field, and march'd forward with his Troops to meet the Two confederate Princes. The Battel was bloody of both sides; here T*artars* fought with T*artars,* and the Descendants of *Tamerlane* employ'd their Arms for their mutual Destruction; that Wing of the Army in which *Abouchaid* commanded opposite to that in which *Abdalla* fought, at first gave way; but Usbec-Kan that noble Hero whose Name is render'd immortal by his Victories, and by the great Empire of which he was Founder, fell down upon *Abdalla* with that Impetuousity, that he depriv'd him both of Life and Victory. *Samarcand* receiv'd the Two Conquerors, and the Inhabitants of that great City, beheld within the Compass of its Walls, the Grand-children of two Kings who had formerly reign'd over 'em. *Usbec-Kan* represented the Rights of *Houssain,* depos'd by *Ta-*

merlane and *Abouchaid* set up the Title of T*amarlane,* whose Children had all along enjoy'd the Crown, since the Death of *Houssain.* *Abouchaid* suspecting that the Majority of the People would declare for *Usbec-Kan,* form'd a Stratagem, whereby he became sole Master of the Town. While his Army was marching in by the Eastern Gate, he himself posted away in Disguise to the Western Gate, by which the Troops of *Usbec-Kan* were to enter; he caused it to be shut, refused Entrance to those who had assisted him in the Conquest, and woul'd be thought to do 'em a singular Favour in restoring 'em the Prince, who had indiscreetly entered the Town without his Troops. Thus *Abouchaid* became sole Possessor of this famous Capital, whither T*amerlane* return'd every Year the Spoils of the People conquered by him.

While *Abouchaid* was employed in the Conquest of *Samarcand,* and in setling his Affair there, his Royal City of *Herat* revolted. *Ibrahim* M*irza* a young Prince of exceeding Beauty, had the fortune to make himself belov'd by a Princess of the *Mogol* Blood, whom *Abouchaid* had condemn'd in his Seraglio to a single Life. Some say she was Sister of Abouchaid, others that she was only a relation. The Princess, who by the King's Absence had a little more Liberty than usual, procur'd, to

Ibrahim an easy Entrance into the Seraglio, gained him the Love and Esteem of the Eunuchs, and got him proclaim'd King in *Herat.* The new Sultan prepar'd by Force of Arms to maintain a Crown, which he had received at the Hands of his Princess. He was the Son of *Alaedoulat*, who governed in a sovereign manner some neighbouring Provinces of *Iraqua. Ibrahim* obtained Succours from his Father, and having drawn the People of *Korasan* to revolt, of which Country Herat is the Capital, he thought himself in a Condition to make Head against the Army of *Abouchaid*, which was then upon a full March from *Samarcand.* He waited the King's coming up, in a Camp abounding with all Things necessary, and resolved to give him Battle before he could shew himself at the Gates of *Herat.* Never was *Abouchaid* in greater Danger; his Soldiers had need of Repose after the Fatigues of a long and forc'd March. Those of *Ibrahim* were all fresh, had seiz'd the strongest Posts, and form'd themselves for Battle without Hurry or Confusion. *Abouchaid* had not all his Troops along with him, when he first came in Sight of *Ibrahim's* Army the greater Part followed at some Distance. In the mean time, he perceived the Enemy in a large Plain, situate between the Towns of *Sar-*

kas and *Merou*. *Abouchaid* was advanc'd too near to retire, and *Ibrahim* superior in Number, begun to surround his Army, when the rest of the King's Troops came up to his Assistance, *Ibrahim* who had not undertook this War from any less Motive than that of the tenderest Passions, charg'd desperately, and behav'd himself with a deal of Courage; but he was too Young to withstand the Experience of *Abouchaid;* after the first Shock the tumultuous Army of *Ibrahim* was intirely routed, and the Young Prince fled towards Damegan, more troubled about the Fate of the Young Princess who had got him crown'd than for his own Misfortune.

The News of *Ibrahim's* Flight was so sooner brought to *Herat,* and reported in the Seraglio, than all gave themselves over for lost; they knew the severity of *Abouchaid* of which they had formerly made woful Experience. The Women and the Eunuchs of the Palace thought it best to prevent the Conquerors Justice. Some made themselves away by Poison, some by the Dagger! The Young Princess particularly had the Courage above all the rest, to put her little Son to Death who was yet hanging upon the Breast, and was the only Fruit of her Amours with *Ibrahim*. She with her own hands cram'd down his Throat a Piece of Gold which

stopt the Organs of Respiration, then taking a Poison she had kept a long time in a Ring, she expir'd in a moment. Thus the Rebels inflicted upon themselves the Punishment due to their Crimes, and spar'd the Conqueror the Trouble of putting 'em to Death.

Abouchaid returning Triumphant to his Capital of *Herat,* shew'd himself very great in sparing the Lives of some Delinquents that had not Resolution enough to do Justice on themselves; by this Proceeding he gain'd the Hearts of his People, and effac'd entirely the brand of his former Cruelty. He likewise made some further Conquests in the Neighbouring Countries, belonging all to Princes of the *Mogol* Blood, and descended from the Sons of *Tamerlane.* He took *Asterabad* the Capital of *Masanderam,* from the *Sultan Houssain.* He defeated the *Sultan Khalil* prince of *Segestan,* and oblig'd him to return to his own Country with his shatter'd Troops. In fine, after having set all Things to rights at *Herat,* and throughout the Country, of *Korasan,* he return'd to *Samarcand,* which seem'd to be his Favourite Conquest.

Sultan Gioughi the Son of *Abdalla life* seemed in *Abouchaid's* Opinion, too insensible of the Services he had formerly

done his Father. That Young Prince held a secret Intelligence in *Samarcand*, and pretended to recover a Kingdom, of which his Family had been unjustly deprived, under the Pretence of giving 'em Assistance: Accordingly *Gioughi* taking Advantage of the Absence of *Abouchaid*, came often to the Gates of *Samarcand*, made Inroads into the *Transoxane* Provinces, and ravag'd all the Open Country. The Boldness of Gioughi, oblig'd Abouchaid to march some Months sooner than he intended towards *Tartary*, but he had scarce passed the River *Gihon*, when the frighted *Giougvi*, thought it best to retire to *Skarokhia*, fortify that Post, and there expect the Enemy. The Young Prince, maintain'd a Seige in this new Fortress which Courage enough; but he was at last oblig'd to surrender at Discretion, and was thought to have been favour'd, in making him a Prisoner for Life. The Life of *Abouchaid* seems to have been wholly employ'd in marching from *Herat* to *Samarcand*, and from *Samarcand* back again to *Herat*; and now a Ceremony of Religion call'd him back to this Capital of *Korasan*.

The *Imans* had of a long time desir'd the King to think of circumcising his Children; *Abouchaid* had Eleven Sons by several Women, who were almost all of 'em then at an

Age capable of commanding Armies. The Respect he had for his Religion, wou'd not allow him to let 'em head his Troops, before they had received the Mark of a true *Mussulman*. *Herat* was the Place where this Ceremony of the Circumcision of the Princes was perform'd attended with feasting, dancing, the Combat's of Elephants, and other Rejoycings, usual upon such Occasions; that which was done of greatest Advantage for the Sons of *Abouchaid* was his causing 'em to be proclaim'd *Sultans*, and distributing amongst them, the Kingdoms of his Inheritance, or those of his Conquests; the Chronicle does not mention the particular Portion of each Prince, but 'tis certain that *Samarcand* and South *Tartary* full to the Share of *Sec-Omor*, the fifth Son of *Abouchaid*, and stem of the *Mogol* Emperors, who reign at this Day in *Indoustan*.

Surely *Abouchaid*, shou'd now have been contented to close up in Peace the Remainder of a Life continually exercis'd in the Tumult of Arms. One of his greatest Failings was that of being always in Extreams. He dedicated the first Years of his Reign to a Repose, which he ought to have avoided, and expos'd his old Age to Wars, which he ought not to have undertaken. That which he undertook against *Usum Cassan*, was at once both rash and unfortu-

nate. I hope a Relation of it will be so much the more agreeable to the Reader, as it may serve to inform him of the Original of those Kings who govern at this Day in *Persia.*

Miracha the Son of *Tamerlane,* to whom *Persan-Iraqua,* was fallen by the Distribution which his Father had made of his Kingdoms, did not long preserve so vast an Inheritance; several Princes despoil'd the Son of the best part of his Fathers Conquests, and oblig'd him to take up with the Kingdoms of *Sindy, Segestan, Cabul* and *Korasan,* of which *Herat* was the Capital: He preserv'd also that kind of Authority, which the Posterity of *Tamerlane* had all along maintain'd in the *Indies, Abouchaid* added to those Remains of the great Empire of *Tamerlane,* the Conquest of *Trans-Oxane* and *Samarcand;* that vast Dominion which he had cut out for himself, might in all reason have satisfied his Ambition if a Restlessness so natural to the *Tartars,* when they once begin to Conquer, had not made *Aouchaid* quit that Repose, which he might securely have enjoy'd. His Heart was continually panting after the Western *Persia,* that noble Portion of the Conquests of his Grandfather. Two Princes of *Turcomania* had shar'd it between 'em; the one was *Hassan-beg,* known

in *Europe* by the Name of *Usum-Cassan*, of the Family of the white Sheep; the other *Gehan-Schah* of the Family of the black Sheep; these Two Sultans had been formerly Generals of the Armies of *Ben-avis*, whom *Tamerlane* had driven from *Bagdat*. *Ben-Avis* had divided his Troops into Two Bodies one of which, commanded by *Cara-Muhamed*, bore in their Colours a white Sheep the other commanded by *Cara-Joseph* bore in their Ensigns a black Sheep. After the Death of *Tamerlane*, and *Ben-Avis*, the Princes who descended from the Heads of these Two Families possess'd themselves of the fairest Provinces of South *Persia*; and as is often the Fate of ambitious Conquerors fell out among themselves; enter'd into open War; and rob'd each other of the Fruits of their Victories. *Usum-Cassan* a Prince of the Family of the white Sheep, was not contented with *Mesopotamia*, which he had wrested from one of the Successors of *Tamerlane*. He turn'd his Arms against *Gehan-Schah*, a Prince of the Family of the Black Sheep. *Georgia*, and *Gurgisitan* subject to the last of these Two *Sultans*. Provinces so very inviting, awaken'd the Ambition of *Usum-Cassan*, who on the other hand was urged on by the Emulation which had all along reign'd between the Two Families.

The Two *Turcoman* Princes put it to the issue of a Battle, and *Usum-Cassan* who got the Day, had the Fortune to kill *Gehan-Schale* and his eldest Son in the Pursuit. Of the Family of the black Sheep there now survived only *Hassan Ali,* who upon the intire Defeat of his Fathers Troops, had Recourse to the Protection of *Abouchaid.* All Kind of Considerations engag'd the *Mogol* to make War against the *Turkoman;* Compassion for a Prince despoil'd of all, his Hatred for the Conqueror of the Successors of *Tamerlane;* but above all his Passion for the Conquest of *Persia,* and the Glory of extending his Empire as far as that of his Grand-Father, were the Motives which induc'd him to lead those Troops into the South, which had so often been victorious in the North. Accordingly, *Abouchaid* enter'd *Adherbigium* and *Fars,* without the least Opposition.

All *Persia* was terrified to see the Grand child of *Tamerlane* advanced in the Foot-steps of his Grandfather, and over-spread vast Countries with far more numerous Armies than those of that Conqueror: U*sum-Cassam* in particular, frighted at the Approach of his Enemy, prepar'd already by Submissions to divert the Storm which threaten'd his Ruin. He sent an Embassy to the *Tarter* Prince; he offer'd to restore the Family of the black Sheep to the Possession of their ancient Rights, and

to Surrender up to *Abouchaid* all those Countries which lye between *Korasan* and the *Caspian* Sea; but all in vain. The Proud Mogol exacted Conditions much more insupportable and expected that *Ussum-Cassan* would deliver himself into his Hands as an Hostage, for the Performance of 'em. The Proposals of *Abouchaid* exasperated the generous *Turcoman*; he was very far from accepting 'em; but not being in a Condition to resist that dreadful Multitude of *Tartar*s and *Indians* which followed *Abouchaid*, he supply'd by Artifice, what he wanted in Force; without hazarding a Battle, he intrench'd between Lakes and inaccessible Mountains, from whence continually harassing the Enemy, and cutting off their Convoys, he had the pleasure to see this vast Army waste itself in Inaction and at last intirely ruin'd for Want of Provisions, *Abouchaid* now found but too late how dangerous it is to refuse an Enemy Peace, who demands it upon equitable Conditions. The Proud *Mogol* Compell'd to make a Retreat, not much unlike a Flight was taken Prisoner by the Sons of *Ussum-Cassan*; being brought to the *Turcoman's* Tent, he appear'd with an undaunted Air in the Presence of a Victor, who durst not encounter him in open Field. He took the Liberty of reproaching *Usum-Cassan* upon it and thereby exasperated the *Sultan*, who at first had re-

ceiv'd him with Humanity. He met with the Treatment which his Insolence deserv'd, and was beheaded in the Year 1469. *Usum-Cassam* carry'd his Resentment further; he order'd the Eyes to be put out of Three of the eldest Sons of A*bouchaid,* who had been taken Prisoners with their Father, by boaring their Eye-ball with a red hot Iron. Thus *Usum-Cassam* became Master of all *Persia* as far as the Indies. Happy had he but known how to enjoy the Fruits of his Victories!

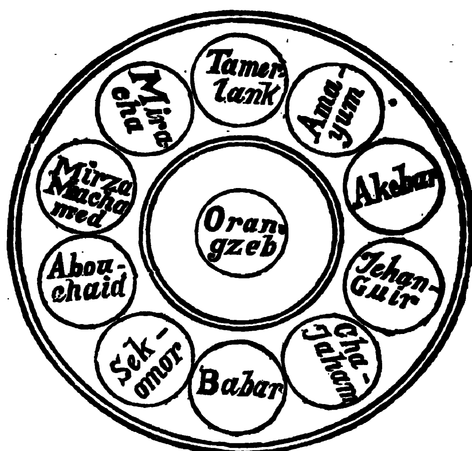
The Fate of A*bouchaid* should have taught his Vanquisher, that Repose ought to be the Portion of old Conquerors. He carry'd the War as far off as *Natolia* at an extreme old Age, and was vanquished in his Turn by *Mahomet* II. His Children were driven out of *Pers*ia, and the Family of the white Sheep did not long survive that of the black Sheep. *Ismael-Sophi,* taking Advantage of the defeat of *Usam-Cassan,* seiz'd upon his Countries which M*ahomet* II, had neglected to do. Thus the Family of A*li* Son in Law to M*ahomet,* from whom *Ismael* descended, was placed upon the Throne of *Pers*ia. His Posterity reign there to this Day, and retain the Name of *Sophi.*

The Children of A*bouchaid* profiting also

by the Ruin of *Usum-Cassan* possess'd themselves of Part of their Father's Inheritance.

Abouchaid reigned 28 Years;. He was an unfortunate Prince, in the beginning and in the End of his Reign, but ever fortunate when he deserved to be so. He equally lost himself by too little or too much by Action. He was given to Peace, when he shou'd have made War, and obstinately bent on War when shou'd have been at Peace. The Chronicle complains of two pernicious Examples left by him to his Successors. First, that of putting his Brethren to Death; secondly, that of neglecting his most faithful Servants.

It is not altogether certain that A*bouchaid* was the Son of M*iracha*, or that he was his immediate Successor, or Grand child of *Tamerlane*, the great Seal of the Mogol Emperors who Reign at this Day in *Indoustan*, places in the rank of their Kings, one M*irza Sultan* M*ahomed*, between M*iracha* and A*bouchaid*. Here's the Impression.



On the other Hand some Historians make this M*ahamed* the Father of A*bouchaid.*

In the meantime, the M*ogol* Chronicle, and the best Authors agree that A*bouchaid* was the immediate Successor of M*iracha* his Father. To reconcile Opinions, it may be said, that M*ahamed* whose Name we find on the Imperial Signet was that brother of A*bouchaid,* whom the People had placed on the Throne, soon after the Abdication of their Emperor. The Name of M*irza* which now is never given in the M*ogol* Family, except two Princes of a collateral Line, is a Proof that M*ahamed* was not a rightful King, be it how it will, if he was the Father of A*bouchaid,* and really reigned before him, he was doubtless some slothful worthless Prince of whom

History has no other Remembrance than that of his Name.

Sec-Omor *or* Scieck Omar.

THE Children of *Abouchaid* during the Life of their Father had already commanded in Quality of Governors, those Countries which they were one day to possess in Sovereign Dignity. *Sec-Omor* had for his Inheritance, *Maveranahar*, which in *Europe* is call'd *Trans-Oxane* Province, 'tis probable likewise, he succeeded in all the Power and Dominion which *Abouchaid* had preserv'd in the *Indies*, either as Part of his Division, or as devolv'd on him by the Death of his three elder Brothers, who had been taken Prisoners in *Persia*, upon the Defeat of their Father. Never did *Tartar* Prince seem to be of a more peaceable Disposition then *Sec-Omor*; content with the Lot which Providence had assign'd him, he neither disturb'd his Neighbours by his Ambition, nor oppress'd his Subjects, by Taxes or Services.

The *Tartars*, however, restless in their Nature, easily accustom themselves to the Sweets of Repose, which it seems was never more needful to 'em than at this time. *Tamerlane* and his Children had drain'd 'em by the Conquests which they had made and by the Co-

lonies which they had established. Their Towns were depopulated, and their Lands in a manner wast. *Sec-Omor* seem'd to be destin'd by Providence to repair by a long Peace, all the Damage which the *Tartars* had sustain'd by their Wars.

Samarcand was Capital of the Dominions of *Sec-Omor;* 'tis situated in a very delightful Country, water'd by a large River, which after many easie Windings in the Neighbouring Plains, takes its Course thro' the midst of *Samarcand,* and bestowing itself about the Town, forms a Canal in the Ditches which surround it. 'Tis pretended that *Alexander* the Great was the Founder of *Samarcand,* and that he gave it his own Name. Be that how it will, *Tamerlane* took a Pleasure in inriching and adorning it, and made it one of the largest and most Opulent Cities of *Asia.* The Air about it is sweet and temperate, the vast Plains around are laid out into Meadows and improved Grounds. 'Tis call'd at this time *Sogd,* which makes it probable that this Part of South *Tartary* was the Ancient *Sogdiana,* of which the Writers of *Alexander's* Life have taken so much Notice.

'Twas in this delightful Country, and in the first City of it, that *Sec-Omor* enjoy'd in Peace the Fruits of the Labour and Conquests of his Ancestors. His whole Employment

was that of establishing the Purity of the *Mohometan Law*, throughout his Dominions. *Tamarlane* had always held the *Alcoran* in the utmost Contempt, and profess'd the Opinions of Deism altogether free from the Superstitions of the East. *Sec-Omor* made the *Mohometan* Religion, his particular Study, and was even scrupulous in his Observances of it. He caus'd it's Precepts to be religiously observ'd, and gave the *Imans*, somewhat too great an Ascendant over him. The *Tartar* Princes his Neighbours admir'd his gentle Disposition, and never disturb'd his Repose. Thus he liv'd until the Year 1493, after having reigned 24 Years; the Account which the Chronicle gives of his Death, is thus. This good Prince took hardly any other Diversion than that of rearing of Pigeons, and training 'em up to little Battles. There was in the *Seraglio*, two Dove-houses, one at each End of a large Terrass Walk, where the Prince us'd to assemble his Game, which came about him upon the least Summons. The King now and then took a long Cane in his Hand, at the end of which was tied, in the Nature of a Standard, a Piece of white Sattin, and coming to one of the Dove-houses, all the Pigeons in it presently repair'd to the Standard, and fluttering about it follow'd his who led 'em on, in order to their attacking the opposite Dove-house. These Crea-

tures meek as they are in their own Nature, descended their Post against the Irruption of the Assailants; sometimes the besieged sallyed forth, and gave Battle in the open Air; the King encourag'd 'em with his Voice and Gesture, and wav'd his Standard in the Air to engage 'em, in a kind of mixed Fight; one Day as *Sec-Omor* was amusing himself with this Innocent Diversion, having his Eyes fix'd on a Flight of Pigeons which he excited to Battle he did not perceive where the Parapet of the *Terrass* was ruinous; he fell from top to bottom, broke his Skull, and dy'd two days after of the Fall. This Prince had nothing of that impetuous Temper natural to the *Tartars.* He was under some Reproach on account of his unactive Life, which indeed was the more taken Notice of, as he was on every Side surrounded by Warlike Princes.

Babar *or* Dabar.

THE Repose which *Sec-Omor* had procur'd to his Subjects, proved fatal to *Babar* his Successor and Son. The Courage of his *Tartars* was much abated by their unusual Repose and the Experience they had made of a Life of Ease, rendered 'em less inclin'd to oppose their Neighbours. They had one such very formidable in the Person

of *Schaebeckkan*. He was an ambitious enterprizing Prince, who had not yet forgot the Treachery of *Abouchaid* to his Father *Usbec-Kan*. He remembered with how much Ingratitude he had shut him out of the Town of *Samarcand* after having borrow'd his Troops for the Reduction of it. The brave *Usbek* Prince prompted by his Ambition, and by a Desire of Revenge, enter'd into *Trans-Oxane*, ravag'd all the Provinces of *Andecan* and at last presented himself before the Gate of *Samarcand*. *Schabeik* in the *Tartars* whom he now attack'd, found nothing of the Spirit of those brave *Mogols*, whom the preceding Kings had constantly led to Victory. They were perfectly enervated by the Sweets which attend a lasting Peace. *Babar* in particular bread up in Luxury and Ease, had deriv'd from a delicate Education, the Disposition of *Sec-Omor* 'his Father he was terrified at the approach of *Schaibeck*, and forsaken by his cowardly Subjects, he retir'd at most without Attendance to *Gazna*, a Frontier Town of *Tartary* on the Side of the *Indies*. Thus by the Disposition of Providence the Victory of *Schaebeck* and the Flight of *Babar*, were a means of establishing two of the greatest Monarchies in the World. The *Uzbeks* took Possession of *Samarcand*, which has ever since been the Capital of their Empire, and *Babar* oblig'd to fly his Country transfer'd to the

Indies the Dominion of *Mogols,* which subsists there at this Day.

The *Sultan* driven from, *Samarcand* did not tarry long at *Gazna;* he was oblig'd to retire from place to place, and at length to seek for Shelter in *Cabul,* that Capital of Kingdom of the same Name, was then under the Obedience of one of those *Tartar* Governors, whom *Abouchaid* had placed in all the Provinces of the *Indies* and who had continued Faithful to the Prince of the *Mogol* Blood, and in particular, to the Son of *Sec-Omor.* This Loyal Subject receiv'd his Sovereign dutifully, gave him his Advice and Assistance and assembling an Army composed for the most part of *Tartars,* he put *Babar* in a Condition of maintaining with Honour the Dignity of his Ancestors.

Adversity often inspires Resolution. *Babar* felt the Virtue of his Race re-kindle in him after the Loss of his Kingdom, and like his Grandfather *Abouchaid* he made Compensation by his Valour, for the time he had mis-spent. He put himself at the Head of his new Army. His inclination was intirely for returning towards *Samarcand* and recovering his Ancient Dominions: *Ranguildas* [for so was the Governor of *Cabul* call'd who has render'd his Name Immortal by his Fidelity to his King,] cou'd not approve his Master's Design, and declar'd himself after this man-

ner. I do not pretend Sir to over-rule your Inclinations, or stop the just Resentment which animates you against an Usurper. Nothing's more reasonable than to turn your Arms against an Enemy who has snatch'd away your Crown, 'and I am ready to sacrifice my Life for the Recovery of it. But when I cast my Eye of one Side towards the North, from whence you are come, on the other side towards the South, which opens you a vast Career to Glory, I own my Sense inclines for your quitting your Antient Dominions, and engaging in the Conquest of *New*. No Sir, it's not so safe to vye Forces with those of S*chaibek*. The *Tartar*, who grasps your Crown, is grown Old in the Use of Arms, and the Troops of *Usbeks* have succeeded in the room of those Invincible Men whom *Tamerlane* had fromerly train'd in *Tarary*. Let us never listen Sir to the Instincts of our Passions, which are apt to misguide. 'Tis a Pleasure to despoil an Usurper, but it's dangerous attacking him with unequal Force. On the other Hand, the *Indies* offer your Valour, an easier Conquest. The Dominion of your Ancestors, was never thoroughly establish'd there, and your own is in a tottering Condition. Go on then, and possess yourself of the noblest Country in the Universe. Establish beyond the River *Indus*, and Empire which your Fathers have scatch'd out

for you. Go fix your Court in the Center of *Indoustan*, and prefer the Delights of the *Indies* to the Hoar and Snows of *Tartary*. Every Thing seems to invite you to the South, Providence which has conducted you to *Cabul*, and put you in the Road to *Indoustan*. The Interests of the Religion which you profess. God and *Mohomet* engage you to extinguish the Idolatry of the Indians. Consider the Facility of the Enterprise. Those Governors your Country-men, whom your Fathers have plac'd in the Cittadels of the *Indies*, will come in with their Forces, and your Army will increase at every Step that you take towards *Indoustan*. When you have made some Essays in Victory under your Command we'll march at your Beck, and follow you even back again to *Samarcand*, whither you have now a mind to lead us. Then will be the proper time for despoiling the *Tartar*, and making War with the *Usbecks*.

A Discourse so very reasonable, determin'd the Prince, who besides was a Man of Sense, to prefer an almost certain Victory to an uncertain Revenge. He turn'd his whole Thoughts towards this new Quarter of the World, and form'd a Resolution of attempting the Conquest of *Indoustan*. 'Tis said, that *Babar*, before he wou'd undertake so glorious an Expedition had a mind to examine in Person the Forces of his Enemies, their Customs and Manner

of fighting. He left no Orders for his Army to follow, but took on him the Habit of a *Toguy*. These are a Sort of Penitents who spend their time in going in Pilgrimage to the Places most renown'd by the Devotion of the People. *Babar* thus disguis'd, and accompanied by *Ranguidas*, enter'd the *Indies*, visited all the Fortresses possess'd by the *Tartars*, and inform'd himself of the Tempers and Conduct of his Governors. At length he arriv'd at *Deli*, the strongest of all the Places that *Tamerlane* had conquer'd and the last which the *Mogols* possess'd at that time in the *Indies*. The State of that beautiful Country which e're long was to be the Scene of all his Glory, stood thus at that Time. *India*, in the Year 1501, when *Babar* took this Progress, was inhabited by a People of four different Nations. The first where the antient Original *Indians*; the second *Patanes*, the third *Persians*, and the fourth and last were the *Tartars*, or *Mogols*.

If we give Credit to the learndest *Bramans* of the Country, the Antient Inhabitants of the *Indies* were a Colony of *Egyptians* who formerly setled there, and whose Posterity has remain'd unmix'd to this Day. What makes this the more probable is a Conformity in their Religion, Manners, and Customs with those of Antient *Egypt*, which are very near the same in the *Indies* at this Day, as *Here-*

dotus describes 'em. 'Tis besides most appa-rent that there has bin a constant Intercourse and Commerce all along between the *Egvptians*, and *Indians*, that the *Metempsychosis* which *Poythagoras* had taught in *Egvpt*, is at this time an Article of that Religion which the *Indians*, profess. These Antient *Egvptians* who settled between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, brought thither without doubt, the Knowledge of the true God. They conti-nu'd in that Belief for some time, and retain it to this Day, at least in some Families, who worship only the Great Creator of Heaven and Earth, in Temples where no Idol was ever set up. But generally speaking, the People of the Country quickly adopted false Gods, and fell into an idolatrous Worship which was introduced upon this Principle. The *Indians* perswaded themselves, that Almighty God did of Course take so much Care of his Crea-tures, that it was not necessary to implore, his Assistance by Prayer, but that the Devil being a wicked and invidious Spirit, 'twas necessary to appease him by Vows and Ob-lations. Hence it was that they divided their Worship between God and the Devil, they never represented the Sovereign Lord of the World, by bodily Figures; But as for the Devil, they gave him the most monstrous Forms; they painted him in the Likeness of Tygres, Elephants, Lions and Serpents and

often confounded all these Forms into one, thereby to make a more hideous Representation. The, Religion of the *Indians* for a long time consisted in the Acknowledgment of one God, and the Adoration of the Devil, without the Mixture of any other Worship. In Process of time they introduced the Worship of *Brama*. *Brama* was a Legislator venerable to all the Nation, on account of those fine Regulations and that admirable Oeconomy establisht by him throughout the *Indies*: Some *Bramans* have pretended that he came thither from *Europe*, and give him a name not unlike to that of *Pythagoras*. In good truth, if we give any Credit to the *Indians* Histories, the Works of that Philosopher are still extant in the hands of the *Sages* of their Country. And yet 'tis much more probable, both that *Pythagoras* never was in the *Indies*, and that the Laws of *Brama* are Antienter than those of *Pythagoras*.

This Legislator, divided the Body of the people into four *Castes*, or Principal Tribes. The first Tribe was that of the *Brakmanes* or *Bramans*, who in all Probablity are the Decendants of *Brama*. 'Tis the noblest of all the *Castes*, and which all furnishes Sacrificers, School Masters and Judges in civil Matters. The second is that of the *Rageputes* who are intirely dedicated to the Profession of Arms, and whose Part it is to defend or inlarge the

Limits of the Kingdom. The third Tribe consists of those who are call'd *Baniânes*, and whose peculiar Business is that of Traffick, of promoting manufactures, and exposing 'em to Sale, by the whole, or by retail. The fourth and last *Cast* is that of the *Artizans*, who are subdivided into several Branches, according to their several Trades, without one Tribe being ever permitted to interfere with another. A Day Labourer for Example, a Goldsmith or a Weaver shall never breed up his Son to any Trade but his own, nor marry him into a Family of any other Calling.

Brama, who form'd this common-wealth, appointed General Laws for all the Tribes in common, and certain by Laws for each in particular; the General Laws are those of acknowledging one God and worshipping the Devil; believing the transmigration of Souls from Body to Body either of Men or Beasts, till at last having past thro' the Body of a *Braman* they attain to the utmost Degree of Purity. Thence they take their Flight to Heaven free from all Stain, and dwell for ever with God.

The Morals of *Brama*, are much more sound, than his Theory is reasonable. He forbids Adultery and simple fornication. The greatest of all crimes is that of shedding Man's Blood, or taking away the Lives

of Animals, which they believe are endued with human Souls. Lying and stealing are banish'd from all Society. Cows are to be carefully nourish'd, and never eaten; they are to be preserv'd and reverenc'd as the Mothers of Men. This is rather a political than a Religious Law. Oxen of all other Animals are of greatest Use in the *Indies*: They serve there instead of Horses, and are made use of for all sorts of Carriage and Transportation.

Besides, the General Laws which are common to the whole Kingdom, each Tribe has certain by Laws peculiar to it. The *Bramans* are oblig'd to a Life of great Austerity. 'Tis a Crime in them to eat of any Fish, Fowls, Four-Footed Creatures, or even of Roots and Legumes of a Reddish Tincture, and which come near to the Colour of Blood. They are not allow'd more than one Wife at a time, nor are their wives to marry a second time after the Death of their Husbands. They are permitted to burn themselves on the same Pile on which the Bodies of their Husbands are consum'd. *Brama* enacted this Law for the putting a stop to a crying Inequity. The Women grown weary of their Husbands, had frequently made 'em away by Poison. The most effectual Means that *Brama* cou'd think of to prevent a Mischief so very common, was placing the

Glory of the Women in burning themselves on the bodies of their Husbands, or living after their Decease in a perpetual State of Widowhood. Thence arises that Care, and Tenderness of Wives for those to whom Providence has once assign'd 'em. Their Lives and Liberties depend on the Lives of their Husbands. It's a Sin in the *Bramans* to converse with *Indians* of an Inferior *Caste*, to eat with them, or even to be touch'd by 'em. All are injoin'd to Spend their Lives in the Study of the Law, to Contemplate the Stars, to keep the Temples clean, burn Incense in 'em and offer Sacrifices.

The *Rageputis* are not oblig'd to such Austerities: As they are destin'd to the Profession of Arms, the Legislator has not requir'd so rigorous an Abstinence at their Hands; 'twere a Crime even in them to kill Animals, Yet they are allow'd to eat the Flesh if they happen to find 'em dead. *Brama* has left no Scruples in their way about the Plurality of Wives. They, says he, can't multiply the Race of warriors too much, which is so much diminish'd by War.

The *Banianes* are the rigidest Observers of the Laws and the most scrupulous in the point of Abstinence, from Fish and Flesh. As they have their Residence chiefly in trading Towns, and carry on the whole Business of Commerce, they are the more con-

cern'd to give good Example to Strangers, and to the *Artizans*, over whom they preside in the Nature of Governors. Their Charity also, both for Man and Beast, is in no instances exceeded by any. Besides their Hospitals erected for the Sick and for Orphans, they have founded others for Cows, for Monkeys, and for Birds. The *Banianes* wou'd be the best of Men, did not the Fear of being defil'd, by any Commerce with Strangers render 'em unconversable, and their Cunning somewhat dangerous in Trade.

The *Artizans* are exempt from Severity of the more austere Laws. As theirs is a Life of hard Labour, *Brama* allows 'em the Use of a more substantial Food and such Nourishment as they may keep 'em in heart. But this indulgence is extended more or less in Proportion to Labouriousness of their several Callings. They who are permitted all, are esteemed the least of all, and treated with most Contempt. These Laws concern generally all the Antient Inhabilants of the *Indies*, whatever the *Raja* be to whom they are Subject.

The Kings are allways chosen out of the Tribe of the *Rageputes*. Never did a *Baniane* or *Artizan* aspire to the Throne, and the *Bramans* despise it. These Kings treat their Subjects with Disdains, and exact their Taxes with Avarice. As their natural Indolence

nclines 'em for the most part to live mew'd up within the Walls of a Seraglio, few or none are to be found among 'em, whom Ambition, or a Desire of Glory prompts to great Enterprizes. On the other hand, Subjects so compassionate in their Nature, are not the fittest to make good Soldiers. Such was the State of the Original *Indians* at the Time of *Babar's* visiting 'em.

The *Patanes* are a *Mahometan* Nation, who had setled in the *Indus* above 400 Years before the Conquest of *Tamerlane:* 'Tis probable this Colony came from *Arabia,* and that after having cross'd the *Indian* Seas, they are first sat down on the South Coasts of *Indoustan;* That they founded there a Town, which at this Day is called *Muslipatan;* and that from thence penetrating into the Country, they conquer'd the Kingdom of *Dely,* where they reigned at the Time that *Tamerlane* became Master of it. This shews that the *Mogol's* were not the first who introduced *Mohamatisme* into the *Indies.*

The *Parsis* another People extending for the most part along maritime Coasts of *Indoustan* without they are the Remains of those Antient *Idolators* of *Persia,* who were oblig'd to quit their Country when the *Mahometans,* becoming there the stronger Party, compell'd 'em to renounce Idolatry, and profess the *Mahometan* Law. This poor

People chose rather to abandon their native Country, than embrace a new Worship. The *Parsis* acknowledge the God of Heaven, and worship the Sun and Fire. They find in that Element something, I know not what so divine that they make it offerings, and sacrifice Victims to it. Their Principal Care is that of keeping it always burning in their Chimnies. When by Misfortune they let it go out, They believe themselves guilty of a Sin which is not to be absolv'd, but by the Priests of the Country. They shut themselves up on these Occasions in thier Houses, and after a severe Lecture from the Mouth of the Priest, they bring from his Dwelling a Pan of his Fire, which they wait upon homewards in Triumph with Sound of Trumpets, and Hoboys. There is not more peaceable Nation on Earth than the *Parsis*. As they are all of 'em poor and scatter'd up and down the Country, they are look'd upon in the State I with great Contempt.

As the *Mogols*, the time of their coming, into the *Indies*, begins from the Conquest of *Tamerlane*. That Prince establisht 'em in all the principal Fortresses of the Country, which he had reduc'd to his Obedience. The whole Function of these Governors in the Beginning was, only to levy the *Rajas* of the Country the Tribute they had oblig'd themselves to pay to the Successors of *Tamer-*

lane, in whatever Part of their Dominions they resided.

B*abar* in his disguise observ'd all this different People, inform'd himself of their Customs and manners, and from'd the Plan of a Conquest on what he had seen with his own Eyes. The Kingdom of *Dely* seem'd to him of all the others in the *Indies* the most worthy his Pains and easiest Conquest. He had already some footing in it. *Sultan Amuixa* who was then on the Throne of *Dely*, was the powerfullest of all Kings of *Indoustan*. He was the one and thirtieth King of the Race of those brave *Patanes*, who have establish'd themselves in the *Indies* by Force of Arms. It was determin'd then, to begin with him, the Conquest of this new Empire.

Babar having retun'd to *Cabul*, with his Faithful *Ranguildas* took proper Measures about the great Expedition in hand. He order'd in the First Place the *Mogol* Governors, who Commanded at *Dely* to observe the Movements and Countenance of *Amuixa* and to give him Notice from time to time of all his Proceedings. Some time after he summon'd the *Patane* King to renounce the Name and Quality of Sovereign in a Country which was entirely dependant on the *Mogols*. He added that *Tamerlane*, one of his Ancestors had conquer'd it for his Posterity. A*muixa*

answer's him haughtily, that a Tributary King did not cease therefore to be King; that the Love of Peace had oblig'd him not to refuse the poor Usurper, that Mark of Dependance which indeed he ought before to have shaken off. But since he disputed with him the Title of King, he wou'd now refuse an unknown Person such as he was, and despoil'd of his Countries a Tribute he was not worthy to receive.

This bold Answer of the *Patane* highly provok'd the *Mogol* against him. He gave Orders for the March of his Troops, and set out at the Head of 'em towards *Dely*. *Amuixa* did not oppose Stone Walls to the Impetuousness of *Babar*; he had Courage enough to take the Field, and go half way to meet an Enemy he Despised. In effect, never was seen perhaps a more numerous Army than that of *Amuixa*. It was compos'd of *Mahametan Patanes*, and *Indian* Idolators. The Original Inhabitants of the Country were accustom'd to the peaceable Dominion of the *Patane* Princes, and dreaded the Government of the *Mogols*, whose Severity and Avarice they had experimented. *Amuixa* begun the *Hostilities* by endeavouring to force the *Citadel* of *Dely* posses'd by a *Tartar* Governor; from thence he moved towards *Babar* who was likewise advancing by long Marches to give him Battle.

Amwixa's Strength consisted chiefly in *Elephants*, which are to be seen in great Numbers about *Dely*. The Two Concurrents met in a spacious Plain, where the *Patane* seem'd to have an Advantage of his Enemy. His *Elephants* had Ground enough to roll in, and his prodigious Army seem'd ready to surround that of *Babar*, which was much Inferior in Number. The *Mogol* Prince, had Learned from the Example of *Tamerlane*, never to be daunted at the Numbers of an Enemy, when he was at the Head of a well Disciplin'd and well affected Army.

He gave Battle and won it. The *Tartars* whom *Babar* led up in Person made so suddain an Impression upon that innumerable Multitude of ill Armed *Indians* that they gave way upon the First Attaque, fell back upon their own *Elephants* and put 'em into Disorder and together with them the *Patane* Squadrons, who quitted their Ranks so that 'twas not possible to Rally 'em. Fear made 'em direct their Course towards the North; they hid themselves in the Mountains where they afterwards settl'd, and have always Liv'd ever since their Defeat, sometimes Subject and Tributaries to the Emperor of the *Mogols* and sometimes Rebels.

By that one Battel *Amwixa* lost both his Life and Crown; and *Babar* became Master of an Empire greater than he had lost.

The Conqueror made his Entry into the Capital of his New Dominions; and seiz'd the Palace and Treasures of *Amwixa*. *Dely* was at that time a Considerable City situate in a fertil Plain, almost at the Source of *Gemna*. This River after it has taken a considerable Course, runs winding about the City of *Agra*, and comes at last to discharge itself in the *Ganges* near to *Eleabas*. There was not at that Time a Town in the *Indies*, where one might see more remains of Antiquity, or more illustrious Monuments than in that of *Dely*. It's probable 'twas formerly the Capital, or at least one of the principal Cities of the Kingdom of *Porus*, and that the memorable Battle which ended the dispute between *Alexander* and that *Hero*, was Fought near the Walls of *Dely*. Ther's a Pillar *Still* to be seen hard by it, which was erected in the Time of *Alexander*, with the Remains of an Inscription, in strange Characters, and in a Language that's quite forgot.

The Kingdom of *Dely* had formerly belong'd to Princes descended from *Porus*. 'Twas even said that *Rana* who was defeated by *Tamerlane*, pretended to derive his Original from him. In process of Time *Sultan Alaudin* the first *Patane* King establish'd his Court at *Dely* in the year 1085, and his Posterity reign'd there until the Year 1519, when *Babar* Conquer'd it.

The first thing the New King took care of, was that of bringing his People to a due Submission, partly by Fear and partly by Favor. The Councils of the prudent *Ranguildars*, did not a little Contribute to win the Peoples Affections to their Conqueror. The Original *Indians* naturally Effeminate and born to Servitude, were soon reconciled to the Yoke. The *Patanes*, weaken'd by the Defeat of their King, and by the Desertion of the bravest of their Countrymen, who had Fled for Refuge to the Mountains of the North submitted peaceably to the Dominion of a Prince of their own Religion. Thus the *Tartars* got possession of all the Employments and Dignities of the Empire.

Babar drew up the Plan of a new form of Government. He establish'd what Laws he thought fit, in a Conquer'd Country. The succeeding Emperors have all along observ'd 'em: They are the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and are look'd upon as the Work of the Wise *Ranguildas*.

The *Mogol* reserves to himself the propriety of all the Real Estates of his Empire. They never descend from Father to Son, but return to the Crown after the Death of him to whom the mean Profits are assign'd. Thus the People are properly speaking no more than Tenants for Life to the Emperor.

The Officers of the Court have nothing to

subsist on, but what their Master is pleas'd to bestow; and as none are Rich from a fund of their own. So none become Great but by the Favor of the Prince.

The Chief Lords that is to say the Governors of the Provinces, the Prime Minister, and the Secretaries of State are called *Omhras*, and hold the first Rank in the Kingdom. The Idolater *Rajas* or *Indian* Lords, who Govern'd small Territories before the Conquest are also allow'd the Rank of *Omhras* at Court. There's difference between them and the other *Omhras*, that the Children of *Rajas* succeed their Fathers in that kind of Soveraingty which has been reserv'd to 'em, and the Children of *Mohometan Omhras* lose all in losing their Fathers. The Emperor is sole Heir to all the Officers of his Court.

The *Men-sebdars* are *Omhras* of the second Rank who serve at Court and in the Armies. They rise by degrees, to the highest Dignities, according to their Services and Fidelity.

As to Civil and Criminal Affairs *Babar* had no Written Laws. A Charter wou'd have set Bounds to that absolute Authourity which the Emperor assumes over the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects. Without any other Rule than that of his own Reason, or Caprice he decides Suits as occasions offer;

and pronounces Sentence of Death, which is executed upon the spot before his Eyes. The Criminals Head is Chopt of, or he is trod to Death by *Elephants* train'd expresly for these Executions.

The Emperor has his Hours of Fitting every Day in a Spacious Hall, where he gives Audience to all his Subjects. He hears Complaints, he decides Controversies, he causes Delinquents to be punish'd, and nothing but extraordinary Sickness, can dispense with his Attendance. The decision of smaller matters he commits to *Casy* or Judge of the People, and the care of keeping the Peace to a *Cotwal,* who Executes at the same time the Office of a Civil Judge and *Provo.*

A Government in which the Authority of the Prince is so absolute and so well maintain'd; yet without extending on the ancient Rights of the first Inhabitants of the Country, gain'd *Babar* the Love and Veneration of the People. All Bow'd before his Power, and his Dominions in a little time became very Flourishing.

The *Tartars* Ancient Subjects of *Babar* came over in shoals from *Samarcand* to make their Fortunes under the new Monarch, and had Employments given 'em at Court. Then it was that the *Indians* began indifferently to call all the *Tartars, Mogols* and to transfer to the Nation in general, the Name

of the Royal Family. Abundance of *Persians* resorted likewise to *Dely* to better their Fortunes. The Employments with which they were honor'd at Court, drew others after 'em. Thus the Foreigners of the *Mahometan* Name quickly became the stronger Party, and engross'd all the Governments and all the considerable Posts in the Kingdom. In fine, the *Rajas* who had been consider'd in the Beginning from a Necessity of Affairs, grew into Contempt by little and little, and the *Mohometan* became the establish'd Religion.

So wise a Constitution with a peaceable Reign, might have rendered *Babar* the Admiration of his Age, if the Vice of Ingratitude so natural to the *Mogols* had not eclips'd all his Glory. The only Act of Rigour and Injustice, which he committed, was against the very Author of his Elevation. *Ranguildas* to whom he ow'd his Conquest and Crown was disgrac'd by his Master to avoid Death he resolv'd upon a voluntary Exile, and retir'd in the Habit of a *Faquir*, to an obscure Village. The Chronicle informs us, that presently after the departure of this Faithful Minister, the Kingdom became desolate. The Dearths and Rebellions which follow'd it, afflicted the People and shook the Throne of the New Monarch. In fine, it appear'd that the Empire cou'd not subsist, but by the

Conduct of him, who had form'd its Constitution. The Emperor perceiv'd his Error, and repented him, for parting with so worthy a Subject. He made strict Injury after him, and behold the Artifice he thought on for bringing him back to Court.

He publish'd a very odd Edict throughout his Dominions. He order'd all the *Peasants* to bring to *Dely* the *Bazar* or Market Place of their Villages. His Intention was to know what Excuse each Village cou'd find to exempt it self from complying with an Ordinance, the Execution of which seem'd utterly Impracticable. He Fancy'd that the Village in which *Ranguildas* lay conceal'd wou'd find some ingenious Expedient to bring themselves off, and that he might discover his Minister by this Token. In Effect *Ranguildas* who liv'd the Life of a Philosopher with the Reputation of great Wisdom in a Village far remov'd from Court, bethought him of an Expedient which in all reason must have contented the Emperor. Go, says he, to *Dely* beg Audience of the King, and Speak to him after this manner. The *Bazar* of the Village to which we belong is very ready Sir to Obey your Orders. Ther's only one difficulty, which is that it does not know a step of the way to *Dely*. But your Majesty will be pleas'd to send

the *Bazar* of your Capital, to serve as a Guide to ours it shall immediately set forth as you desire. The Emperor found this Answer of the Country Fellows ingenious enough, and would needs know the Author of it. He commanded 'em to bring him before him. Thus *Ranguildas* inspight of all his Opposition, was led away by the Villagers to the Court of his old Master. Babar by his Caresses made him quickly forget the evil Treatment he had receiv'd. He was restor'd to his former Employments, and all things once again were manag'd by his Authority.

Under so wise an Administration the State in a little Time recover'd its former Lustre. Plenty seem'd to return with *Ranguildas*, and Peace was restor'd after long Dissentions. 'Tis true, the Kingdom of *Cascar* which fell in right of Succession to B*abar*, by the Death of one of the descendants of *Abouchaid*, was invaded by a Prince of that Family in prejudice of whom *Tamerlane* had usurp'd it. But the prudent *Ranguildas* did not think it advice-able to engage his Master in a doubtful War, at too great a distance from a Country newly Conquer'd. He declin'd an uncertain to preserve a certain possession. 'Twas owing to Principles of this kind, that B*abar* reign'd in great Tranquility, and establisht the Reputation of being a wise Prince : He had the address to acquire a Throne more glorious

than that which he had lost. *Babar* dy'd in the year 1530, after having reign'd Thirty Years in the *Indies*, Five at *Samarcand*, and having spent Three Years partly in his Exile, and partly in the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Dely*. Victory which had deserted him in *Tartary*, listed with him afterwards in *Indoustan*; but Justice and Prudence always attended him in his Conquests, and never abandon'd him, even in his Adversity.

Amayum *or* Homayum.

A*MAYUM* was very near loosing the vast Empire which *Babar* his Father had conquer'd with so much Hazard. The young King found by Experience, that it's no easy Matter for a Son to Maintain a Crown usurp'd by his Father. As long as *Babar* lived his Authority was a Bridle which check'd the rebellious Spirit of the *Indians*. But the Beginning of new Reign not thoroughly establish'd gave Room for Pretensions and Factions. *Chira* was a *Patane* Lord of the Race of those whom Babar had dethron'd. Under the preceeding Reign he was allow'd all the Honours of the Court; but the Prudent *Ranguildas* always kept him, an Artful Man and of a Suspected Family from having any Share in the Government. *Amayum* in that Point

departed frŏm the Conduct of his Father and the Councils of *Ranguildas.* He raised *Chira* by Degrees to the highest Honours trusted him with the Guard of his Person, and with the Command of his Armies. The Power of *Chira* became formidable to A*mayum*, who soon repented him of having so highly promoted a Subject, Contrary to all the Maxims of Policy. In effect, this General who found himself in a Condition of employing the Favors of his Prince to his own Destruction, chang'd his Name of *Chira*, that is to say a young Lyon, into that of *Chircha,* which signifies the *Royal Lyon* or the *Lord Lyon.* A*mayum* made some Efforts to check the Insolence of this Seditious Subjects; but *Chircha* got always the Advantage of the King's Troops. The City of *Dely* was the Theatre of several bloody Conflicts. All chose their side according to their Interests or Inclinations. The P*atanes* and some *Indian Rajas,* went over to *Chircha's* Party. A*mayum* had hardly any for him besides his *Tartars*, out of whom he made up in haste a little Army. They were now no more the same gallant Conquerors, who in such small Numbers had reduc'd under the Obedience of *Babar*, a Mighty Kingdom, and put the greatest Armies to Flight. They were a People enervated by the Delights of the *Indies,* and whom the Heat of the Climate had render'd wholly

unfit for Action. However, *Amayum* took the Field with his small Body not thinking it safe to shut himself up any longer within the Walls of his Palace, where his Enemy threatned to starved him. There might yet be seen in the King's Countenance some Remains of the Antient *Tartar* Valour; but it was not seconded. The winning of one battle had plac'd *Babar* upon the Throne of the *Indies* and the loss of a battle depriv'd his Son of the Crown. *Amayum* was defeated and (much ado) escap'd with Life by the Bravery of some *Persain* Troops, who conducted him into *Persia*, whither he retir'd for Refuge. Thus *Amayum*, after a tumultuous Reign of Eleven years, and always travers'd by Civil Wars, went to seek in a Foreign Court for Protection againsrt a P*atane* King, who by the Defeat of *Amayum* was restor'd to the Possession of his antient Rights.

As the Eastern People are scrupulous Observers of the Flight of Birds, they drew favourable Prosages from an Accident which happen'd to *Amayum* upon his Retreat. The fugitive Prince sleeping about Noon in an open place, and very much expos'd to the Rays of the Sun; an Eagle follow'd by her *Eaglets*, came hovering over his Head, and resting in the Air on her expanded Wings, shaded his Face, and sav'd it from the scorching Sun, till the Prince had taken out his

Sleep. This good *Omen* very much encourag'd *Amayum*. The small Train of Courtiers which follow'd the King, promis'd him from this Presage, that he shou'd once more reign in the *Indies*, and be happy.

In the mean time *Amayum* arriving at the Court of *Persia*, re-assum'd his former Air of Greatness. He knew how to maintain his Character even in Adversity. The *Mogol* upon his Arrival was receiv'd by the King of *Persia* in a garden, where either by Design or chance, there happen'd to be in the Place appointed for the Interview but one *Sopha*, and That so narrow, that Two cou'd not seat themselves upon it. The *Mogol* was surpriz'd. Anger and Indignation appear'd in his Countenance: but calling Reason to his Assistance, he took a Resolution conformable to his Condition, and worthy of his great Soul. He complemented the King of *Persia* with the *Sopha*, and placing himself at his left Hand, which is the Place of Honour in the East, he pitch'd his Quiver to the Ground, and seated himself upon it. Thus he avoided the shame of standing before the King, whose Assistance he came to implore. The *Sophi* admir'd the Presence of Mind which *Amayum* shew'd upon this Occasion, and was the more inclined to serve him. The Conversation of the Two Kings turn'd chiefly on Expressions of

Condoleance of one side, and Protestations of Friendship and Gratitude on the other. The interview did not end in meer compliments. The King of *Persia* added somewhat more Solid. He appointed the Fugitive Emperor a Palace and proper officers. He order'd him to be serv'd as became a great Prince, he even provided for his Pleasures, and had his Seraglio well fill'd. 'Twas in these Circumstances, that he exhorted his Guests to Patience, 'tis a favourable Opportunity shou'd present, for restoring him to the Possession of his Kingdom.

Chircha on his side neglected no means for reconciling, the Spirits of the People, and rendering himself worthy of the Throne he had seiz'd. There was wanting at that Time in the *Indies* one main conveniency for carrying on Commerce. There were no settled Stages on the Roads, nor Inns, for the Entertainments of Travellers. The usurper therefore judg'd it necessary in order to invite Dealers into a Country abounding with all kind of Riches to erect after the manner of the *Persians* *Caravanseras* or publick Houses of Entertainments. Accordingly he caus'd such to be Built at convenient Distances in the open Country, and in the Villages. Certainly did the Invasion of *Chircha* produce no other advantags to the *Indies* than this alone, his Reign cou'd not be adjudg'd unprofitable.

He did something more in Favour of Travellers. He settled in every Inn a certain number of Servants who were to wait upon Passengers *Gratis*. Some had the charge of making the Beds, and others that of looking after the Furniture, and keeping 'em clean and in good Order. He set a reasonable Price upon all sorts of Provisions for Man and Beast. He order'd Baths and Stoves to be built in most of those *Caravanseras*, and rows of Trees to be planted about 'em for the Passengers to walk in. In fine, he order'd all poor Travellers to be lodg'd and entertained at his own Expense. From the Example of *Chircha* several devout *Mahomedans* founded *Caravanseras* in different Places upon the great Roads leading to Towns where they intended to settle a Trade. They created 'em as near as they cou'd to Lakes and Ponds, and built small *Mosques* which the Foundders design'd for the Places of their Sepulchres and those of their Family. In these publick Inns are commonly to be found Jewellers, Silk-Men, and those who sell all sorts of Callicoes and stain'd Linners. Fidlers and Dancers of both sexes are continually flying about them, and in fine, Tradesmen of all kinds but especially Sadlers, Smiths and Quacks in abundance, after the manner of the Country. It's no small comfort to a Traveller, to be sure after a tedious Day's Journey

of a lodging at Nights, a good Bed and as much Meat as he calls for.

Chircha likewise regulated the Weights and Measures of the Country, and reduc'd 'em to a certain standard. Before his Time the use of Scales was utterly unknown in the *Indies.* All things were Bought and Sold by the Eye. They knew no other way of measuring these but by the *Span* or the Cubit, than which nothing cou'd be more uncertain. By these Regulations of the Prince, Merchandizes began to bear a better Price, and Merchants came flocking from all Parts to the *Indies. Chircha* was no less zealous for Religion then he was just, and studious to inrich his People. He equip'd a Vessel every Year, and victull'd it at his own Expense to transport those of his Subjects *Gratis,* to *Mecha* whose Devotion inclined 'em to make that Voyage.

This his Love of Peace and Religion did not in the least abate his martial Spirit. He placed his greatest Pleasure in keeping numerous Armies on Foot, and making reviews of 'em in the Plains of *Dely,* and particularly in having a noble Train of Artillery. He was himself so good a Gunner, that he never missed hitting exactly the Mark he bevell'd at. His Love of this Exercise happened to be the Cause of his Death. He had sent him rom Bengal a Peace of Artillery of an ex-

traordinary Size. The King by all means wou'd make Proof of it himself, but happening to be overcharg'd it burst, and one of the Splinters hitting him, laid him dead upon the Spot. *Chircha* reigned Nine Years, and was Inter'd in the middle of a very agreeable Island, Situate in a noble Lake near the Town of *Samchergam*.

The Death of *Chircha* did not fail to cause one of those surprising Revolutions which commonly follow the Reigns of Usurpers, especially when they Dye without Children capable of succeeding 'em. The whole Kingdom was thrown into Convulsions, by the diversity of Interests, and by the Numbers of Pretenders to the Crown. The *Patane* Lords enter'd into Cabals, and design'd to keep a Sceptre in their own Hands, which had belong'd to their Nation of a long Time. The *Indian Rajas* on the other Hand prepar'd to expect their old Masters, and repossess them selves of a Throne of which they had been despoil'd. The great number of Pretenders, divided the Forces of the Kingdom, and thereby render'd the Conquest of it more easie.

Amayum during these Transactions past his time in *Persia* in that intranquility which naturally attends the uncertainty of future Events, and the desire of remounting a Throne which had once been wrested from him. He made his Court regularly to the King of *Per-*

sia his Benefactors and endeavour'd by Promises to interest him in his Restoration. While *Amayum* was thus attentive to all occasions which might conduct to the Recovery of his Crown, he receiv'd the News of the Death of *Chircha,* and the Troubles occasion'd by it in the Kingdom of *Dely.* One of those Principal *Faquirs,* who strole about the Country under a shew of Piety, thought it his Duty to give the Old King an Account of the distracted Estate to which the *Indians* were reduc'd, and invite him to return and take upon him again the Government of his Kingdom. He told him, that the people wou'd unanimously declare for him upon his first Appearence. He gave him an Account of the reigning Factions at *Dely*, and shew'd him how easily he might destroy his Rivals already, weaken'd by their own Dissentions. *Chadala* (so was the Name of this *Faquir*) added further, that the Stars wou'd favor his undertaking, and that he cou'd assure him on the part of Heaven of a happy Success.

This good Advice was by no means to be slighted. *Amayum* applied himself to the King of *Persia,* and desir'd Succours of Men and Money, of the recovering a Kingdom which he was willing for the failure to hold by a Tenure from him, and for which he promis'd to pay him Tribute: He likewise engag'd himself to reimburse the Charge he

might be at upon his Account, by making over to the *Sophie* the Province of *Candarkar* and the Town of *Sindy* which border upon *Persia*. The *Persian* embrac'd the offer, and lent the *Mogol* an Army compos'd of some few infantry, and about Twelve Thousand Cavalry. This in all appearance was too small a force for so great an undertaking; but *Amayum* was well assur'd, that as soom as he shou'd appear in the Field, his antient Subjects would come in and Joyn him, and that his Army wou'd increase more and more in Numbers the nearer he came to *Dely*. Hereupon the *Mogol* set forward from *Persia*. The *Sophi* in their last Embraces gave him this politick advice; to foment an everlasting quarrel between the *Patanes* and the *Rageputes* of his Kingdom, if ever he shou'd have the good fortune to recover it and insensibly to destroy 'em by one another. In short, added he the only way to Reign in Peace is by dividing a stubborn and powerful People.

Amayum loaded with the favors of the King of *Persia*, and instructed by his wise Lessons enters the *Indies* by the way of *Cabul*. His Army increases dayly by the junction of *Mahometans* and *Indians* whom either interest or Duty had induc'd to follow his growing Fortune. Every thing Bow'd before the Conqueror, and the Recovery of

all the Provinces extending from *Persia* to *Lahore* cost him only a few light Skirmishes. *Lahor* seem'd capable of making some Resistance. 'Twas a large City and look'd upon in the *Indies* as a second Capital. 'Twas encompas'd with a good wall, and defended by a Fortress situate in a Place which was judg'd inaccessible. The Governor, a *Patane* by Nation, conceiv'd some hopes of profiting by the Divisions in the State, and establishing a kind of soveraignity at *Lahor*, and in the Province of *Pingiab*, or the *Five Rivers*.

Amayum thought it best to surprize by Stratagem a Town, the siege whereof might prove tedious and difficult. Accordingly he order'd a Hundred of the resolutests young *Persians* to advance before by a different Road from that by which he himself was to Approach the Town; They were disguis'd in the Habit of Pilgrims, and with their staffs in their Hands, they came up about evening to the Gate of the *Chittadel*. As they had divided themselves into small Parties, they that came first got in without Opposition. But others who arriv'd somewhat later had the Gates shut upon 'em. They soon made their lamentable Cries be heard, and their Complaints of the uncharitableness of those within for a company of devout Pilgrims who were returning homewards from *Mecha*. They desir'd only a little Victuals, and Cover for

one Night. They added, that in case they refus'd 'em so small a Charity, they might expect that God, to whom Vengeance belongs, wou'd punish exemplarily the hard-heartedness of such a People. *Aziscam* (so the Governor was call'd) heard their Cries, and was moved with 'em. He order'd the Gate to be open'd for these poor Creatures; but his Compassion increas'd when he saw this last Company habited like *Santarons*, that is to say, *Mahometan* Hermits. This piece of Charity, which in *Europe* wou'd be reckon'd very unseasonable, was thought excusable in the *Indies*. The disguis'd Pilgrims, and the counterfit Hermits made use of it to surprize *Lahor*. They appear'd at the Governor's Palace with Looks demure and capable of deceiving the most penetrating Eye. At the same time, they whip'd out their Daggers, from under their Vests, and rushing upon the Governor and Garison, with the Fury of Men, determin'd to carry their Point or dye, they became Masters of the Fortress, and waited the coming up of the King's Army to put him in Possession of the Town. In effect *Amayum* moving forward by long Marches secur'd *Lahor*. He made no longer stay there, than just was necessary for putting it into the Hands of a faithful Governor, and so marched on towards *Dely*: All gave way at

the Approach of the Conqueror. *Amayum* met with little or no Opposition either from the *Patanes* or *Rajas*; one short Battle fought near *Panipàt* about three Leagues from *Dely*, in which the whole Forces of *Indoustan* were entirely defeated, establish'd the Successors of *Tamerlane* in the Empire which they possess at this day.

The first Thing *Amayum* did after he was setled on the Throne, was to reward the *Faquir Chudaula*, who first brought him the News of the Death of *Chircha*, reconcil'd the Minds of the People and gained him the Affections of the greatest part of the *Indian* Lords. The King granted him an Estate in Fee, Contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and confirm'd it to his Posterity for ever. The Descendants of this Illustrious *Faquir* are the only *Mahometans* of all the Empire who are possess'd of any real Estate, or can claim a Property in Lands.

His Family hold. the first Rank at Court, and he himself is at this Day honor'd as a Saint. The *Indians*, and the Emperors themselves sometimes visit his Tomb out of Devotion. This Strain of Gratitude is so extraordinary in a *Mogol* Emperor, that the Chronicle Celebrates it in the highest Expressions.

Amayum wou'd undoubtedly have merited all the Praises that are given him, if in Justice and Gratitude to the *Sophi*, who restored him to his Kingdom, he had kept his Word with that Prince. He took quite contrary Measures. Immediately upon his Accession to the Throne, he absolutely refus'd to pay the *Persian* any Tribute, or to put him in Possession of the Province of *Candahar* and the Town of *Sindy*; So true is it, that Honour and the faithful Performance of publick Treaties, is seldom or never to be found among *Mahometan* Princes of what Nation or Sect soever.

The counsels of the King of *Persia*, were no less useful to *Amayum* towards his reigning in Peace, than his Troops towards the Recovery of his Kingdom. His Thoughts were wholly bent on finding out means of humbling the *Patanes* and raising the Power of the *Indians*. He favour'd Particularly the Race of those brave *Rageputes* destin'd for the Wars. He composed his Troops out of these, he advanced 'em to Employments, and made no scruple of dispensing a little with the strictness of the *Mahometan* Law to appear sometimes in their Temples, and to assist at their Ceremoines. 'Tis even said that every morning before Day, he walk'd into a Balcony, and there waited the rising Sun, to worship this glorious Planet.

Be it how it will, *Amayum* never pass'd for an over-rigid *Mahometan.*

In these Political Maxims, the King instructed his Son *Akbar*. The Fate of this young Prince was for a long time in Suspence. The *Sultaness*, his Mother, had been disgrac'd upon Suspicion of Mis-Conduct. Here's what the Chronicle delivers us Concerning both. The *Portuguese* Writers for want of having read it, give it wrong Turn to the Adventures of the Queen, and to the Birth of her Son.

When *Amayum* was driven from *Dely Chircha* became Master of the Palace, the Treasures and all the Wives of the abdicated King. The Queen among the rest became his Captive. Altho' she had Beauty enough to make him who was Conqueror her Slave yet *Chircha,* who really was a great Prince and more a Man of Honour, than is requir'd by the *Mahometan* Law, treated the Queen with Decency and Respect. He did some thing more. When he knew that she was big with Child, he sent her as far as *Persia* to her Husband. The *Mogol's* Jealousy gave the young Queen a deal of Uneasiness. *Amayum* perswaded himself that an Enemy who had seiz'd his Throne, might very well conclude the insult in the Arms of his Wife. Upon this, the Princess finding herself slighted. by her Husband on a mere vain Suspi-

cion withdrew to the *Sultaness* of *Persia* and gave an Account to *Chircha* of her hard Treatment proceeding from the jealousy of *Amayum*.

I'm an unfortunate Princess, says she, in her Letter; you know my Innocence and it lies at your Doór to clear it. The *Patane* mov'd at the Queens Misfortunes, writ to the *Mogol* in her Favor, vouch'd for her Virtue, and swore upon the *Alcoran*, that there was not the least Ground for Arraigning the Sultaness's Fidelity. Upon this Attestation, *Amayum* felt his Tenderness for the Princess revive, he took her Home to his Palace, where she ever after became his only Consolation in Exile. To crown their Joy, the young Prince *Akebar* from the Moment of his Birth discover'd a most charming Beauty; he had all the Features of the King, his Father, and became the great Object of his Care and Tenderness after his Return to the *Indies*.

Meanwhile *Amayum* in the midst of all his Glory was not insensible of the Inconstancy of human Greatness; tho' he was yet in the Vigour of his Age, free from Sickness and Indisposition, he took it in his Head to erect him a Tomb. The Devotion of the *Mahometan* Lords of the *Indies*, lies much this Way. It's incredible what Expence they are at to raise those Monuments, and what

Revenues are apply'd to them. The Design of this Endowment is for the Maintainance of a great Number of *Moulas*, that is to say Doctors of the Law, who Pray Continually for the Soul of the deceased, and Read the *Alcoran* near his Sepulcher.

While *Amayum* was thus employ'd in erecting a Work so conformable to the *Mohometan* Piety, an unhappy Accident was the cause of his Death. He order'd the M*ausoleum* (in which his Ashes were to be laid) to be Built without the Gates of *Dely* at the Foot of a large Bridge of Twelve Arches. The Work was already far advanced and the Wall carry'd up as high as to the turning of the Arch.

The King taking a Rod in his Hand, was mounted on the Wall and walking round the Edifice on a Cornish of a great Breadth, the Rod on which he Lean'd broke away in his Hand, he roll'd for some time on a part of the Scaffolding, where the Workmen had made a Gutter to carry off the Water, and at last tumbling to the Ground, broke his Bones, and found his Death in the Place design'd for his Burial. This stately Monument of *Amayum's* Piety was afterwards finish'd, and his Body laid in it. The Tombs to be seen at this Day beautify'd o' the inside with the finest Marble; and commanded by a magnificent Dome, whose guilding dazzles the

Beholders Eye in a Country where the Sun Shines with much more Lustre than it does in *Europe.* The *Moulas* who belong to the Foundation, are obliged to keep the Building in Repair, and strow fresh Flowers daily on the Tomb which they take care to cover over with a Piece of the Richest Gold Brocard.

Amayum liv'd but Two Years Nine Months and Fourteen Days after his Restoration, and Twenty Years after his first Accession to the Throne. He dy'd in the Year 1552.

Akebar, *or* Akbar.

THE Successor of *Amayun* was the true Heir of the Virtues and Courage of *Tamerlane.* All the good Qualities of the *Mogol* Princes seem'd to have been united in his Person, almost without a mixture of those Vices which make us look on 'em as *Barbarians.* There has scarce been known a Prince of a more penetrating Judgment, and more extensive; of a more generous and more intrepid Soul, and at the same time tender, compassionate, and grateful. In a Word, *Akebar* was a great King and perfectly a man of Honour. The Historians of *Europe* have done Justice to his Merit. They have fill'd their Books with recitals of his glorious Actions; But I think I may say they have

but Flourish'd over so glorious a Reign. I shall endeavour by the Assistance of the *Mogol* Chronicle, to give a faithful Picture of that Conqueror. I'll say nothing but what I have taken from the most Authentick Originals of the Country. Sometimes I may make use of *European* Histories, where I find they agree with the Records of the *Indies*.

Akebar superstructed on that Foundation of Policy which his Father had laid. He perceiv'd 'twas impossibie to Reign in Peace without wholly extinguishing the *Patanes*, who were exceedingly Multiply'd in the *Indies*. The original *Tartars* were too small a Party to contend with this inconceivable Multitude who had been Establish'd there above Four Hundred Years. He therefore endeavor'd to keep those *Persian* Troops in his Service, whom *Amayum* had brought with him into the *Indies*, and whom he had made use of, for establishing and maintaining him on the Throne. He gave 'em Wives at *Dely*. Thus the greater part of those who at this Day are called the *Whites* and sometimes *Mogols*, in Indoustan, are rather the Descendants of *Persians* than *Tartars*. Not but they generally loose their Complexion and Courage in three Generations, and by Degrees Change to an Olive, and become Effeminate.

Besides those *Persians* whose Courage *Ake-*

bar made use of, for maintaining him on the Throne, he engaged those brave *Rageputes* in his Service, who are reckon'd the Flower of the *Indian* Nation. The M*ogol* employ'd 'em Successfully for the inlarging his Conquests. The Idolatrous Kings easily submitted to his Empire. They flock'd from all parts about him, and became his chief Coutiers. *Akebar* met no longer with any Difficulties in levying that Tribute, which was never paid his Predecessors without a deal of Trouble. The Policy he made use of to gain over the *Indians* is somewhat singular. He wou'd by all means receive their Daughters into the Number of his Wives, and give the the R*ajas* M*ogol* Princesses in Marriage. By means of these Mahometan Women, he engag'd the Husbands in an intestine War. They were instructed in the Seraglio (where they had been bred up from their Infancy) to turn the Fury of the *Indian* Kings on one another. You are not, said they to their Husbands, permitted by your Laws to make War with any other People but R*ageputes* like yourselves. All except those of your own Caste are below your Resentment. By such like Womens wiles, he work'd up the *Indians* to their mutual Destruction. They left *Akebar* by their Divisions at Liberty to confirm and extend his Dominion. Certainly had there Idolatrous

Princes but reflected on their own Strength, and united against the *Mahometans*, *Patanes* and *Tartars*, so inveterately bent on each others of the *Indies*, and shaken of the Yoke of a Foreign Domination.

When *Akebar* began to Reign, the kingdom of *Dely* was very much streightend on the South. 'Tis true, the *Mogols* were Masters of some Kingdoms of *West India* on the other side the River *Indus*. On the side towards *Persia*, *Candahar*, *Cabul*, the Multan *Pingiab* and *Dely*, all which were under the Dominion of *Akebar* compos'd a considerable Empire; but the South Parts of *Indoustan* were still unconquer'd which properly speaking are the Source of those immense Riches, at this Day rendering the *Mogol* the most potent Emperor in the Universe. Tho' the River *Indus* ran through a good part of the Countries then possess'd by *Akebar*, yet his Empire did not enjoy all the Benefits of Commerce. The *Mogol* was not Master of any Sea Port, and Trade was carry'd on at a great disadvantage, and only by Land Carriage.

Akebar resolv'd therefore to push his Conquests to the Limits of the South Sea, a great way beyond the Countries which *Tamerlane* had rendred Tributary. The Reduction of the Kingdom of *Guzurate*, was the first Enterprise which the Young Monarch had form'd.

Guzurate, is one of the most Fruitful Countries of the *Indies* and the best Scituated for Trade. It extends from East to West from the River *Tapte*, upon which the Town of *Surate* is scituate, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*. That coast abounding with all kind of Riches was at that time Frequented by Traders from all the Countries of *Europe* and *Asia*. The *Portuguese* had long before Establish'd Colonys and made Conquests there.

Sultan Bahadar, or *Badar*, reign'd at that time in *Guzurate*. He was one of those *Mahometan* Princes, who quitting *Arabia* with the *Patanes*, were come to enrich themselves in *Indoustan*, and who from ordinary Merchants as they were at beginning, taking Advantage of the Weakness of the *Indian* Kings became Sovereign Princes on the South Coast of *India*. *Badur* had been engag'd in a tedious War with the *Portuguese*; who not long before had wrested from him the Town of *Diu* in the Neighbourhood of *Surate* and *Combaye*. However, when the *Mogol* advanc'd towards the city of *Guzurate*, *Badur* and the *Protuguese* united to stop the Progress of his Arms. The *Vice-Roy* of *Goa* and his council in the *Indies*, did not think it an indifferent Matter to give the *Mogol* Emperor an Inlet in to the Maritime Parts of *Indoustan*, and apprehended that a

Power already so formidable in the Northern Parts of the Country, might become fatal to them. For these Reasons they gave their Assistance to *Badur*. This Prince march'd forth to meet *Akebar* with an Army compos'd partly of *Indians*, and partly of *Portuguese*. The *Mogol* soon perceiv'd how necessary it is in the *Indies* for King to command his Troops in Person, to animate 'em by his Presence, and inure 'em by his Example to the Toils of War, which the Heat of the Climate renders almost insupportable. The Sight of the *Portuguese*, whose Name and Valour had reachd as far as *Dely* daunted the Troops of *Akebar*. They were within a Hair's Breadth of quitting the Enterprise. *Akebar* gave Orders for his Army to advance before, and follow'd by easy Journies. He was about Forty Leagues behind, when he was inform'd that his Designs were like to be frustrated by a pannick Fear which had seiz'd his Troops. They represented the *Portuguese* to their Thoughts, as a People come down from Heaven or issued out of the Bosom of the Sea. But of all things they dreaded their floating Machines (for so they call'd the *Portuguese* Ships at *Dely*) not knowing that they were of no Service to 'em in a Land Fight. *Akebar* came up to his men with a Diligence which restor'd their sinking Spirits. He put

himself at the Head of 'em and falling down furiously upon the Enemy, he quickly convinced his Troops, that the *Portuguese* were not Invincible. In Effect he routed 'em. The *Indians* who fought under the Command of *Badur* forsook their General. *Badur* Fled, his Children were taken Prisoners, and soon after put to Death by the Conqueror's Orders. This single Victory put the *Mogol* in possession of the wealthy Kingdom of *Gusurate.* All the Towns threw open their Gates to the Conqueror; those possess'd by the *Portuguese* on the Sea Coast were the only places that made a Resistance. They were fortified after the *European* manner, and the *Mogol* had not yet the Art of carrying on a Seize in Form.

The Kingdom of *Decan* had soon the same Fate with that of *Guzurate.* The young Conqueror reduc'd it to his Obedience. *Brampour*, *Acer*, *Amadanagar*, and *Doltabad* are the principle Towns of this Kingdom. The Two first were Subject to a *Mahometan* Prince Call'd *Mastapha.* His Subjects flatter'd him with the Title of *Melec*, that is to say, King, though he had but one Province under his Jurisdiction. *Amadanagar*, and the Territory belonging to it, were Subject to the Princess *Cande*, who assum'd the Title of Queen, and caus'd herself to be stil'd *Bibi.* *Amber*, had the Lordship of *Doltabad* and

Command there as a Soveraign Prince. The Two Princes, and the Princess, who divided between 'em the Kingdom of *Decan*, forgot their former Animosities, enter'd into a League against *Akebar*, and raised an Army of Forty Thousand Horse against the Common Enemy. *Mustapha*, a valiant Prince indeed, but still more Politick than Brave, had the Command of the Army; *Ambar* led one of the Wings,, and the Princess *Candé* animated with a Spirit Superior to her Sex, had the Command of the other, which was all composed of her own Subjects. 'Twas no difficult matter for the *Mogol* Emperor at the Head of a victorious Army, to Defeat the tumultuous Troops of so many Confederated Powers, who very rarely have a right understanding: He met with more difficulty in besieging 'em separately in their Towns. The *Chittadel* of *Acer* made the stoutest Resistance, *Mustapha*, who defended it in Person, perform'd all that cou'd be expected from a great Captain. Never was there seen so noble a Train of Artillery in *Indoustan*. The Cannon of *Acer* were particularly Fam'd for their excellent Workmanship and Mettal; For we are to observe that Gunpowder and Cannon were in use in the *Indies* long before their Invention in Europe; the frequent Sallies which *Mustapha* made upon the Troops of *Akebar*, harrass'd 'em even to Despair; ti-

red out with the Toils of a tedious Seige, and the Heats which are almost insupportable in the Month of *May*, in the more Southern Climates, they were just ready to quit the Enterprise; when they were inform'd by Deserters that there was a Scarcity of Water in the *Cittadel.* The Hopes of a certain Conquest chear'd the Spirits of the Soldiers. *Akeber* streightned the Town more closely, And *Mustapha* knowing, that the Season of the Year of Rains was very far off, despair'd of being able to supply his Cisterns. In this Districts, he took a Resolution to quit alone, and in disguise, a Fortress he was no longer able to Defend, and Retrench himself in *Brampour* in order to cover the rest of his Country. He stole out accordingly in the Night time without any Attendance, and took an unfrequented Road, but was seiz'd by one of *Akebar's* Parties, This Misfortune did not daunt him. When he was brought before the Emperor, he shew'd himself Master of a Presence of Mind, which never fail'd him in the greatest Dangers. Who are you? Says the *Mogol* to him, and what wou'd you have with me? I am the King *Mustapha*, reply'd the Prisoner, come out expressly from the place which you Besiege, to ask Advice of my very Enemy in this Extremity of my Affairs. It wou'd not become so great a Prince as you to refuse a needful Advice, or

be the Author of Bad. Water growes scarce in the place which I Defend. What shall I do not escape the Servitude I am Threatn'd with? *Akebar* was surpris'd at this Discourse of *Mustapha,* and as he valued himself on Acts of Generosity, he made him a wise and obliging Answer. Go, says he, return to the *Cittadel,* which you have so bravely defended; if Heaven has a concern for you, if interests it self in your preservation it will find you Water in your present Distress. *Akebar* little imagin'd what a Mercy Providince had in store for his Enemy. Tho' the rains seldom fall in the *Indies* till about the middle of *June,* to continue as they do for Three Months without Intermission, yet they sometimes anticipate the usual Time. The very next *Night* the *Rain* fell in such a quantity that the Cisterns of *Acer* were fill'd. *Akebar* who had slipt his Opportunity of reducing the Place, from a meer point of Generosity, chang'd the Seize into a *Blockade,* and came up to present himself before *Brampour* with his formidable Army. As that Town was not defended by *Mustapha* in Person, it surrender'd immediately to the Besiegers. The taking of the Capital was quickly followed by the surrendry of *Acer. Mustapha* yielding to his ill Fortune, gave up the Fortress upon Composition, took Party in the Troops of his Vanquisher, and held for some-

time at the *Mogols* Court, the Rank which was given to the *Indian Rajas.*

The Princess *Cande* shew'd no less Bravery in defending her City of *Amanadagar.* The Mighty Forces of *Akebar*, did not daunt her in the least. Fearless she beheld the *Mogol* already Master of *Mustapha* surround the Capital of her Kingdom. She kept *Akebar* in Play for more than Two Months without her Ramparts. At length, oblig'd to yield to the Obstinacy of the Beseigers, she bethought her of a very odd way. of being reveng'd of her Enemy. The Princess order'd all the Gold and Silver in the Palace to be melted down and into Bullets, on which were engraven in the Characters of the Country, Curses and Imprecations against the Usurpur. They charged some Pieces of Cannon with 'em which Carry'd above a League and shot 'em into Copses and small woods which lye about the Town. At last *Candé* surrender'd upon Conditions after having shot away all her Bullion of which she was resolv'd to deprive her Enemy. The Princess quikly repented of her spright. At the first Sight of her Conqueror, she ceas'd to be his Enemy. *Akebar* took her into the Number of his Wives, and always treated her with the Title and Quality of Queen, or rather consider'd her for a long time, as the Favou-

rite Sultaness. Some of those Gold and Silver Bullets are found to this day about *Amanadagar*. 'Tis not long since a *Poisant* hapn'd to find one of Gold, which Weigh'd about Eight Pounds; M. *Manuchy* saw it, and Read the Inscription with Pleasure.

Amber did not think it convenient to shut himself within the Walls of *Daltabad*, he hast'ned to the Relief of the besieg'd Queen. His Army was full Fifty Thousand Men; He had got together all the Men of his Country that were capable of bearing Arms. But his Troops were composed only of *Indians* very much dispirited and almost unarm'd. *Akebar* drew out to Fight 'em and surpriz'd 'em in a disorderly March, more like a Multitude jogging on the Highway than regular Troops advancing to Battel. A confus'd Army of cowardly *Indians* was easily defeated. The *Mogol* who did not loose one Man of his Army, Slew the greatest part of the runaways, and dispers'd the rest. *Ambars* Body was found about Three Leagues from the Field of Battel, Stabb'd in several Places. Without doubt he was Kill'd by his own Men; for 'twas afterwards known that he had never shew'd himself during the Action, but kept all the while at a great distance from the Fray. Thus the *Mogol* Master of the Kingdom of *Decan, saw* almost all the *Southern* Coast of *Indoustan* subjected to his Empire.

The Conquest of Two Kingdoms Establish'd the Authority of *Akebar* throughout the *Indies*. The very Terror of his Name either contain'd the *Rajas* within the bounds of their Duty, or drew 'em over to the *Mogols* Service. 'Twas on a Confidence of his uncontroulable Power, that he dar'd to Raze the Town of *Dely*, the antient Residence of the *Patane* Kings, and Capital of *Indoustan*. It is not certainly Known what were the Motives of *Akebar*, for demolishing the fairest City of his Dominions; but it's generally believed in the *Empire*, that the sole desire of eternizing his Name, made him take the Resolution of founding a New Imperial City. His pretence for abandoning *Dely*, was a Vow he has made of erecting a *Mosque* in Honour of *Mahomet*, to obtain of Heaven a Son and Heir to his Empire. Not far from this *Mosque* the Emperor built him a Magnificint Palace, and here he fixed his Residence: Whereupon the Courtiers presently strove which should first build Houses about this New Palace, and soon run up as many as made an indifferent large Town; they left it it's old Name of *Fetipour*. The Glory of this New Settlement lasted but a short while. 'Twas found that the Air of the Place was none of the healthiest and that the Waters had bred Distempers. The King Himself Condemn'd the bad Choice he had made, quitted

Fetipour, and return'd towards the Banks of the River *Gemma*, there to build a New Town in the Neighbourhood of *Dely*. The Ruines of the Antient Capital serv'd for Building the new. 'Twas for some time after the place of his Residence; but A*keber* lov'd Variety, and chang'd once more for the Town of A*gra,* too inconsiderable at that Time to expect the transferring to it his Throne and Court.

A*gra*, at this Day, the ordinary Residence of the M*ogol* Emperors, is Scituate in a vast plain upon the same River which runs by D*ely;* it extends it self along the Banks of the *Gemma* in the form of a C*rescent.* At one end of it Stands the Imperial Palace, and the House of the Principal Lords of the Court. The City takes up in Length about Nine Italian Miles, so that it's much longer than Broad. It's true, it was not surrounded with a Wall in the Days of A*kebar*. But a large Ditch always fed with Water by a Communication with the River Encompass'd it on every Side.

The Number of Inhabitants soon amounted to Six Hundred and Sixty Thousand, without including Strangers, whom the Conveniency of C*aravanseras,* and the Freedom of Trade, had drawn thither from all the Countries of A*sia.*

The Emperor's Palace which serves as a

Cittadel to the Town of *Agra*, may pass for one of the finest in the World, whether we consider its Scituation, Building or Riches. It stands upon an Eminence, and its Walls which are Twenty Five Foot in Heighth, are built of a Stone of a reddish Colour not very unlike Marble; the Masonary is incomparable, 'tis not Possible to discover the joining of the Stones. In Fine, this vast Edifice seems to be one Entire Rock. On the side towards the River, the Palace makes the noblest Front in the World. The Windows and Balconies disposed with Symmetry enough have a particular Grace. From these the Emperor sees the Combats of his Elephants on a strand which reaches from the Palace to the River; on the other Side of the River is to be seen a Second Town as long though not as broad as the first. Here the *Banianes* and Tradesmen have their Dwellings. 'Tis almost incredible what they turn in Trade.

Akebar lookt upon the City of *Agra*, of which he was Founder as the noblest Monument of his Glory. He did not disdain to give it his own Name. 'Twas call'd during his Life, *Akebarabad*, that is to say, the Town of *Akebar*, but after his Death when Flattery did no longer constrain *Akebarabad*, resum'd its antient Name of *Agra*, and retains it to this Dav.

Those Employments of Peace did not abate the Emperor's natural Inclination for War. He cou'd not indure that an *Indian* Prince, of the Race of the famous *Rana,* who formerly submitted to the Power of *Tamerlane,* shou'd hold a King of Soveraignty in his Neighbourhood; that Prince was called *Rana,* after the Name of his Ancestors, and boasted of being lineally descended from the antient *Porus.* The Territories of the *Raja* were not above Twelve Days Journey from *Dely,* and the Capital of his Country was called *Chitor.* 'Twas rather a Fortress than a Town of Trade. It's Scituated on a high Mountain surrounded with Water on every Side in the midst of a vast Plain. The top of the Mountain of which the Town was Built is a Flat. It's about a League, and a half in Circumference and half a League over in some Places. At the Foot of the Mountain the *Nug,* a pretty large River but very deep, glides gently along. A Rivulet of the best Water in the world takes it source in the Town. It makes a great many windings within it; and at last having form'd several natural *Cascades* on the break of the Mountain throw it self into the River. Within the Compass of the Fortress are several beautiful Fields sow'd with *Rice,* and water'd by the overflowing of the *Rivulet;* it affords Provisions enough to supply an indi-

fferent large Garrison. A place inaccessible, which wants neither Victuals nor Water passes in the *Indies* for impregnable. However this was the place of which A*kebar* undertook the Conquest. It's thought, that the young Emperor's Love for the princess *Padmani,* the Wife of R*ana,* Sovereign of C*hitor,* represented that enterprise easy, which otherwise might seem impracticable. Before he wou'd attempt so dangerous a Seize, A*kebar,* by his Ambassadors, let R*ana* understand, that Ambition alone was not the Motive of this Undertaking; that the *Indian* might preserve his Country from the Ruine which threatn'd it, by giving up the most beautiful Princess of the *East,* to the most potent Monarch of the World. A Proposal of this Kind is not so shocking in the *Indies,* as it would be in *Europe.* Their Laws allow Divorce. However R*ana* had too great a passion for P*admani,* to part with her to a Rival and wou'd hear nothing more upon that Subject, but the Dictates of his own Valour and the Tears of his Wife. Can you find in your Heart to abandon me (says the virtuous Princess,) to a Tyrant whom I detest? Have we not Strength enough in C*hitor* to consume your Enemy's Forces, and extinguish his Flame, by the length of a fruitless Seige? At worst, if I must loose my Life, I'll loose it without Regret, provided

I am not so unhappy as to survive you. Words so moving, determin'd *Rana* to prefer an honourable War to an ignominious Peace. He answer'd the Ambassador of *Akebar*, that he wou'd not advice his Master to sit down before *Chitor*? But if his Passion had the Ascendant of his Reason, *Akebar* shoul'd find in the Person of *Rana* a true *Ragepute*, capable of maintaining his Rights, and incapable of an Infidelity to *Padmani:* The Emperor was surpris'd at so haughty a Reply. He was not accustom'd to meet with any Opposition to his will, or be cross'd in his Desires. Can it be possible, cry'd he, that there is a Man upon Earth audacious enough to disobey me? He quickly assembl'd his victorious Troops, which had newly conquer'd Two Kingdoms. *Rana* for his part was not asleep, and made Preparation for maintaining a long Siege in *Chitor*. He rous'd up by his Ambassadors the sloathful *Rajas* in his Neighbourhood. He gave 'em to understand, that their negligence must soon expose 'em to the Tyrany of a *Mahometan:* That the *Mogols* were a Race of People but lately arriv'd in the *Indies*, and who grew formidable only by the division of the *Indians*; that if the Princes Votaries of *Brama*, wou'd Unite Against the Sectaries of *Mahomet*, they might easily destroy 'em. *Jamal* and *Tata*, both Rajas and Princes of Two Provinces

bordering on *Chitor*, join'd their Troops to those of *Rana*, and came in Person to make War against *Akebar.* They appear'd in the Field at the Head of their Armies; but the *Mogol,* who advanced by long Marches towards *Chitor,* quickly dispers'd 'em. The Two Brothers had no other Remedy, but that of retiring into the strong Places of their Provinces, and there expect the Enemy whose Force they were not able to withstand in the Field. Never was seen in *Indoustan* a finer nor a more numerous Army than that of the Mogol. *Akebar* spar'd no Cost to shew himself before *Chitor* in the utmost splendor.

The Richness of his Tents is hardly to be conceiv'd by us in Europe. All was Gold about 'em. He thought by his magnificent Equipage to dazle the Princess *Padmani,* and by the Numbers of his Army to frighten the Rana into a Submission. *Akebar* found by Experience, that Virtue and Valour are sometimes Proof against the greatest Hopes, and the greatset Fears. The gallant *Indians* beheld without Emotion from the top of their Mountain the Magnificence and prodigious Extent of the Enemies Camp. The Mogol in the Beginning of his Seige, acted the Soldier and the Lover. It's said, he shot Arrows into the Town, which carry'd his Letters for *Padmani.* The Princess took no Notice of 'em. He push'd the

Sieze like one in Despair. He fired terribly upon the Place from several Batteries. But his Cannon shooting upwards had little or no Effect. The *Indians* from their Ramparts insulted the *Mahometans*, and reproach'd 'em with their want of Bravery, though Animated to the Fight by more Passions than one. A *Portuguese* Historian tells us, that the Seize of *Troy* was acted over again in that of *Chitor*. He adds, that it lasted Twelve long Years, and that *Padmani* had time to grow old, while the *Mogol* endeavour'd to conquer her by his Arms. This is an exaggeration which the *Mogol* Chronicle does not Confirm. The Seige lasted at most but Two Years, and then concluded by a very extraordinary Adventure. The Truth of it is what I can't warrant.

It's said, that *Akebar* weary'd out by so obstinate a Resistance, made shew of raising the Siege of *Chitor*, and that he writ to Rana a very obliging artful Letter. He Commended the *Raja* for his Courage, but desir'd he'd grant him Two Favours, before he quitted an Enterprise which he did not abandon but to his Confusion. First, that the Raja wou'd give him a sight of the Princess, whom he had not known but by publick Fame: Next, that he wou'd permit him to go into *Chitor* and see the only Place of the World capable of resisting his

Power. The *Raja* granted him the second Demand very freely, but refus'd the first. He consented, that the *Mogol* shou'd enter *Chitor*, attended by only Fifty of his Officers, but wou'd not promise that he shou'd see *Padmani*. *Akebar* accepted the *Raja's* Offer, and having receiv'd Hostages for the Security of his person, he enter'd *Chitor* with a smaller Number of Attendants than was allow'd him. The Emperor receiv'd from *Rana* all the Respect and all the Distinction due to his Rank. He was regaled in the Palace after the Indian Manner. The Entertainment was civil on both Sides; but *Akebar* whose Eloquence oas perswasive, had the Art to make *Rana* grant him more than he had promis'd. When he saw the *Indian* warm'd with the good Cheer, he entreated him to send for *Padmani*, if but for one Moment. The *Raja* was willing but they had a deal of Difficulty to get the Princess Consent. At last in Complaisance to her Husband, she show'd her self, but disappear'd in an Instant. The Indiscretion of *Rana* cost him dear. *Akebar's* Passion was much more inflam'd upon Sight of the Princess; however, he had command enough over himself to dissemble it. He made *Rana* believe that he was resolv'd to raise the seige from a Place which had cost him but too dear already. He had besides Prudence

enough not to intermix his Discourse with any Praises of *Padmani*, but such as were cold and indifferent. *Rana* thus deceiv'd by Appearances, treated his most cruel Enemy without the least Mistrust. He received his Presents and made him others in Return. *Akebar* gave the Prince a Cimeter set with Diamonds, and Rana made the Emperor accept of some Jewels in Return. And now the Hour of their Parting drew near. *Akebar* walk'd towards the Gate of the Fortress follow'd only by Forty of his Attendants. Rana wou'd by all means wait of him to shew his Respect. During their Walk *Akebar* renew'd his kind Protestations. At last they came to the Gate of the Fortress, where the *Mogol*, as a further Testimony of his Friendship, wou'd put about the Neck of R*ana* one of those large Pearl Necklaces, which the Men wear in the *Indies* as well as the Women. He took care to string it with some of the strongest Twist. He dragged him by this Collar out of the Gate, while his forty Bravo's oppos'd the Guard who made a Mõtion to rescue their Prince. The *Mogols* forc'd the *Indian* to mount a Horseback, and after having receiv'd some Discharges from the Musquets on the Ramparts, they conducted Rana alive to the *Mogol's* Camp.

In the mean time, the Uproar made at the

Gate put the whole Town into a Consternation. The People thought the Enemy had surpris'd it, and certainly had the *Mogol* been but a little better provided with an arm'd Force to second his Design, he might easily have carry'd the Place. Fame which ever magnifies, brought to *Padmani's* Ears, the News of a sudden Irruption of the Enemy. She was even told that her Husband was missing in the Fray. The Gallant Princess did not suffer herself to be overwhelm'd with this unexpected Disaster. She immediately got a Horseback, and with her Launce in her Hand appear'd at the Head of her Troops, resolv'd to conquer or die. She did not learn the Truth of *Akebar's* Treachery, and the forcing away of *Rana*, till she came upon the very Spot. *Padmani* perceiv'd plainly enough, that she had been the true Cause of his Misfortune, but she thought fit to conceal that Part. Full of Constancy, he is dead, she cry'd, that dearest Husband is dead whom my Tenderness has undone. Let's think no more of recovering him by a dishonourable Composition, but revenge his Death by seeing the Authors of it fall in heaps about us. She spake, and without shedding a Tear, tho' pierc'd with the sharpest Sorrow, she walk'd round the Ramparts, gave all the necessary Orders, encourag'd the Soldiers and animated the Principal Leaders. In fine, she shew'd

herself as much Superior to the Men in Prudence and Courge, as she surpass'd in Beauty all those of her own Sex.

Akebar, had now flatter'd himself with becoming quickly Master of the Fortress, And gave the beseiged to understand, that if they did not deliver up the Place and the Princess, he wou'd first cause *Rana's* Head to be struck off, and conclude his Revenge in the sacking of the Town and putting the Inhabitants to the Sword. The brave *Amazon* answer'd, that her Husband falling into the Hands of a perjur'd man, she was no longer in doubt of his Death; but still there remain'd *Rageputes* enough of his Nation to revenge their Soveraign.

That for her part she wou'd employ all the Authority Heaven had given her over her People, to raise up to the *Mogol*, Enemies yet more formidable than *Rana*: and besides that the Principal Leaders of her Army, had sworn to loose their Lives rather than surrender the Place..

Akebar was not Ignorant of the Firmness of the *Rageputes* in all their Resolutions. He chose therefore to raise the Seige, and endeavor to obtain the Princess by way of Negotiation. An Ambassador was sent to *Padmani* loaded with rich Presents and the most passionate Letters. *Akebar* represented to the Princess that she had given Proofs

enough of the Fidelity due to a Husband, that it was now time to make some condescention in Favour of a great Emperor, and her own Interest; that her tenderness for *Rana* cou'd not better appear than by procuring the Liberty of her Captive Husband: That by redeeming R*ana* from his Captivity, she might make her self the greatest Queen in the World.

They shew'd her at the same time Letters extorted from the Captive Prince, by which he exhorted her to make her self Happy by setting him at Liberty. The *Heroine* rightly apprehended that *Rana's* was only a forc'd Consent; and that her own Glory depended on an inviolable Fidelity to him. Yet she thought it not unlawful to play the Hypocrite, and deceive a Deceiver, who had robb'd her of her Husband by a Wile. She let the *Mogol* understand that she began to waver in her Resolution, and that Ambition had shaken her Constancy: That if her Vows did not bind her indispensably to R*ana* she cou'd think herself happy in being *Sultaness* to so great a Prince. But that she had sworn to her first Husband by all their Gods that she would never be the Wife of another without an express Consent from his own Mouth: That the Emperor might chose either to permit R*ana* to come to *Chitor*, or permit *Padmani* to goe and demand her Husband's

Consent, in the Place of his Captivity. *Akebar* embrac'd the last Proposal, and consented that the Queen might come with a good Guard to pay her Husband a Visit.

A Castle in the Neighbourhood of *Agra* was *Rana's* Prison. It's impossible to express the Impatience of *Akebar* for the Arrival of a Princess at his Capital for whom he had been at so much expense, and expos'd to so many Dangers. Couriers upon Couriers were dispatch'd to desire her not to defer her Departure. The *Mogol* sent her Presents every Hour, of Jewels, of Fruits, and of a mysterious kind of Nosegays, which are made use of in the East to express by matching of Flowers the Sentiments of the Heart. The Queen got ready her equipage with all possible Speed. The most sumptuous *Pallanquin's* were prepar'd for her Journey. These are a kind of *Indian* Chaises, in which People of Quality are carry'd on the Shoulders of ten or a dozen Slaves. They are long enough to sleep in, as in a Litter. Those for the Men are open at top, but the Women's are close, and of much a larger Size. Four may sit conveniently in one of 'em so that there's need of twenty Slaves to bear those in which the Princesses are carry'd.

Padmani shut up eight of the bravest of her Subjects in the two *Pallanquin's*, and enjoyn'd 'em a profound Silence during their

Journey. For her own Part she remain'd at *Chitor*, and sent away the *Pallanquin's* with a good Guard. The Project was executed with so much Secrecy that the whole Town was deceiv'd. The People were all in Tears at the supposed Departure of their Princess, and follow'd the *Pallanquin's* in crouds out of the Town. Mean time *Padmani* keeping very private in her Palace, had the Pleasure to see the Sorrow of her People for their imaginary Loss.

As soon as the Emperor was inform'd that the Princess was set out for *Agra,* he appointed several Persons to meet and compliment her. The Princesses first Eunuch who manag'd the Intrigue, and was shut up in the *Pallanquin,* in which the Princess was suppos'd to be, made Answers for her. Among other things, he let the Emperor know, in the Name of *Padmani,* that if she met with the least Interruption in her Journey; or was hindred from proceeding directly to her Husband, without going thro' the Capital; or even, if she was disturb'd in her Entertainment with *Rana,* that she was determin'd to stab her self with a Dagger which she brought for that purpose, and held ready in her Hand for Fear of any Surprise. *Akebar* had not a Thought of making the least Opposition to the Princesses Will. He sent her Word, that she shou'd be at full Li-

berty to see R*ana*, to discourse him and bid him adieu.

The nearer the P*allanquin's* approach'd towards *Agra*, the more Courtiers were dispatched to wait on them. They were met by 'em at every Village, and still the Eunuch gave Answers to the Letters of *Akebar*. About half a days Journey from *Agra*, and three or four Leagues from the Castle where *Rana* was Prisoner, they met a magnificent Equipage which the Emperor had sent to receive the Princess. 'T was compos'd of Elephants train'd to War, of Camels, and several Squadrons which were to conduct P*admani* to the Royal Palace, and supply the place of the *Rageputes* of her Guard, while her Husband took the way of *Chitor* with these. In fine, they arriv'd about Night-fall at the Place where R*ana* was Prisoner. The two P*allanquin's* only and some Officers of P*admani's* Guard were permitted to enter the Castle. These Officers together with the *Bravos* shut up in the P*allanquin's*, dispatch'd the Governor of the Castle, who first advanc'd to receive the Princess; Afterwards becoming Masters of the Guard, they quickly delivered R*ana* from his imprisonment. They mounted him on a very fleet Horse; and as they had posted change enough on the Road, the R*aja* soon arriv'd at *Chitor* where he made P*admani* all the Acknowledgments due to his Deliverer.

Meant time *Akebar* was waiting impatiently in a Garden for the Arrival of the Princess, When word was brought him that Rana had made his Escape; and that some arm'd Men had been conceal'd in the Pallanquin's instead of Padmani. He immediately commanded the Messengers Head to be struck off who first brought this News; but coming to himself a Moment after, he was contented to forbid him his Presence for ever. Pursue, pursue Rana, crys he; but Rana was got too far on his Road to be overtaken. As to the Rageputes, who had serv'd as Convoy to the Pallanquin's, after having march'd all Night with great Expedition, They found themselves about Morning in the Territories of a Raja, and Friend to the Prince of *Chitor*, and at last got safe into their own Country. As soon as Rana was return'd to his Fortress, he wrote an insulting Letter to *Akebar*. He reproach'd him with Perfidiousness, and rally'd him on the ill Success of his Amours. He made him a Defyance likewise of coming a second Time to try his Fortune against the Cittadel of *Chitore*, he added, that after having been baffled and outwitted by a Woman, he might very well expect to be overcome by an Army of Rageputes, who waited his Coming with Impatience. Rana did more than insult his Enemy by Letters. He errected in the market Place of *Chitor* a Pillar, on which

were ingraven these Words in the Language of the Country. *Never trust the Mogols who have once betray'd you.*

The behaviour of R*ana*, and the Slights of the Princess P*admani*, provok'd *Akebar* to such a Degree, that he was no longer Master of himself. Once more he assembl'd his Troops; he augmented his Artillery; he prepar'd Machines; in fine, he made such Provision for the Seige of *Chitor*, that he believ'd the taking of it Infallible. In this Assurance he surrounded the Place on every Side, he raised Platforms on which he planted his Engines. The Assaults were furious and were equally sustain'd. The *Mogol* was now no more that amourous Prince, who seem'd tender of the Lives of his Princesses People, but an Emperor outrag'd to the last degree who came to revenge a Personal Affront. The Two Principals were continually Attentive, one to push the Siege, and the other to defeat it. R*ana* was continually upon the R*amparts*, where he encourag'd his men and repair'd the Breaches. *Akebar* of his side often mounted on the Platforms, and gave his Orders for forming the Attaques. One Day as *Akebar*, was taking a View of the Place, from one of those Platforms almost equal in Heigth to the Walls of *Chitor*, he perceiv'd an Officer walking carelessly on the R*amparts*; he took Aim with *Fusee*, and Shot the

Raja} Dead upon the Spot. *Akebar* had an Account about Two Days after, that he had Kill'd his Rival, that his Body was Burnt in great Pomp, and that the generous *Padmani* according to the Custom of the *Ragepute* Princesses, had thrown herself into the Flames and mingled her Ashes with those of her Husband. *Chitor* still made some Resistance, but at last was forc'd to yield, to the Vallor and Fortune of *Akebar*.

This Relation which we find as well in *European* as in *Indian* Histories, (says *M. Manouchi*) seems to have an Air of Fable invented to Amuse ; and yet it has nothing of the Stile those Romances which are commonly Written in the *Indies*, and are for the most part stuff'd with Discourses between Monkeys, tales of other Animals, and Miracles, of the Gods of the Country, without the least Appearance of Reality, However, as this Adventure of *Akebar* and *Padmani* is not found in the Chronicle of the Empire, the Reader may give it what Credit he Pleases. As to the taking of *Chitor* and the Death of *Rana* they are incontestable Facts.

Akebar took some Repose after his Fateagues at the seige of *Chitor*. The *Mogol* Emperors have always this Advantage in the *Indies*, they may either make War or live in Peace just as they see fit. The *Indians* de-

tend themselves sometimes when attack'd, but are seldom or never the Aggressors. The Emperor employ'd all his leisure in beautifying his City of *Agra*, in finishing the Buildings of his Palace, and inproving his Gardens. He had one very chimerical Project in his Head which was to errect a Palace all of Copper. This, said he, is the only Defence against the Heats which are so insupportable in the *Indies*. Not did he relinquish his Design, till he was assur'd, 'twas impossible to find Metal enough to finish the Work. He was more successful in the Execution of another Project. *Lahor* is reckn'd above an Hundred and Fifty Leagues from *Agra*: A*kebar* had a Row of Trees planted from one of these Cities to the other which by its length and ever green, makes the agreeablest and most extraordinary Monument of all the Empire. It's in being to this Day and one can scarce imagine what Convenience it is in so Scorching a Country, to be able to take such a Journey in a continual Shade.

All the Emperor's Diversions had something martial in 'em. He had retain'd, from the *Tartars*, his Ancestors, an Inclination for shooting with the Bow, and breaking unruly Horses. But the Excercise he most delighted in, was that of riding the War Elephants and managing 'em, when they fought their Battles. It's a very dangerous Exercise, the Wives of those who are oblig'd by their Office to perform it tear off their Cloaths and the very Pendants from their Ears to see their Husbands expose themselves in these terrible

Combats, yet *Akebar* made that a Diversion, which (in the *Indies*) is enough to distract with Fear. There's one Adventure particularly related of him, which shews the Intrepidity of this gallant *Mogol.* Some Peasants, who had revolted from their Obedience, shelter'd themselves in a Town, which tho' poorly fortified, had Gates that were not easily forc'd. *Akebar* order'd the War Elephants to be brought up to clear him a Passage into the Town by bursting 'em open. The Conductors of those Animals, which are train'd to such Expeditions, wanted Courage. The King was offended at 'em. As he had that Day put on the Habit of a private Soldier because he wou'd not be known in an inglorious War against Boors, he took the place of one of these Cunductors, and seating himself on the Neck of the Elephant, he brought him to with his Iron Hook, and made him move forward to the Town. He manag'd this Elephant with so much Dexterity, that he forced open the Gate, tho' not without extream Hazard, for the people of the Town let fly plentifully at the Beast, and his Rider; however, the Emperor come off without hurt.

The Conductor of the second Elephant transported at the Bravery of Person whom he took for a private Soldier, desir'd to know his Name, that I may, said he, give the Emperor an Account of you. I am *the Breaker open of Gates, says Akebar* don't forget to do me Justice. Accordingly, the honest Fellow did not fail the next Day, at the Audience, which the King gives all his Subjects, to mention the Valour and Address of one called *the*

Breaker open of Gates. The Emperor remember'd the Words, and own'd himself to be the Man. He bestow'd the Recompense which he himself had merited by so brave an Action, on the person who made Report of it. He was presented with a complete *Serpaon*, that is to say, a vew Livery, with a Turban and Horse, his Pay augmented, and himself preferred to a better Post.

This War with the Rebel Boors, gave *Akebar* more Trouble, than all his Conquests over the *Rajas*. These Wretches intrench'd themselves in inaccessible Forest of which they knew all the Passages, from whence making frequent Excursions, they plunder'd the neighbouring Towns, or burn'd 'em. Whenever they were surprised, they retrench'd in an instant behind old Walls or Ruins of Houses, and if oblig'd to fight, never fir'd till within half Pistol Shot. As soon as they had discharg'd they made use of their Bows, or Javelins, and their wives in the meantime charg'd, their Musquets afresh.

'Twas under *Akebar* that the wars of the Boors began. We may say, they are not yet ended in *Indoustan*. At this very Day, a Boor loses his Head, if he happens to be found in Arms. Nothing is more common, than the Heads of these Wretches hanging upon the Trees, or stuck upon Poles all along the great Roads. These Robbers are known by their shorn Chins, and long Mustachos which turn up to their Ears; they live dispersed in the Villages between *Agra* and *Dely*.

The Astrologers of the Country pretend that the Planet *Mars* reigns principally over that

Part of the *Indies*. 'Tis likewise pretended that the Water of Country inspires Courage, and I know not what Martial Spirit. Travellers also in passing through that Province, have observed that the Bulls bred there, tho' of the smallest size have sharper pointed Horns than the Bulls of the neighbouring Countries, and often fight with a Fury not common to others of their Kind. To return.

While A*kebar* was thus employ'd in clearing his Country of Robbers, *Jehan-Guir*, the Emperors Eldest Son, grew up to Mans Estate. This young Prince had been bred up in the Privacy of the *Seraglio*: as he knew little of the World, and was apt enough to take ill Impressions, some turbulent Spirits took Advantage of his Weakness, to infuse into him a rebellious Principle. Your jealous Father, said they, had made you languish long enough in an idle Obscurity. The first Years of a young Prince destin'd to wear so many crowns, ought to be employ'd in Armies. 'Tis thence, the People he is one day to govern receive advantageous Ideas of his Courage. Since your Father jealous of your Glory, wou'd deprive you of Occasions of shewing your Valour with him, endeavour to acquire a Reputation by employing it against him. Whatever Designs you form to the Disadvantage of a Tyrant who shackles your blooming Virtues, will meet with Applause from all the great Officers of the Crown. For our Parts, Sir, we are fully resolv'd to support your Pretensions. A*kebar* has lived long enough for his own Glory and too long for the Happiness of his People. 'Tis but just he now give Place to a young Prince

who by the Throne is to restore the Splendor of his Country.

These pernicious Discourses drew the Young *Jehan-Guir* by Degrees in to an open Rebellion. But the *Malecontents* were too small a Party and the Authority of *Akebar* too well established for this Rebellion to have any evil Consequences. *Jehan-Guir* was in hopes that the good Fortune of his Father would come over to his Side. But he found by Experience that an Old King is an Overmatch for a young Prince, reckons too much upon his Mettal. He was made a Prisoner and confin'd in a Castle where he languish'd several Months, always under Fears of loosing his Life.

At last the Tenderness of *Akebar*, for a Son of so great Hopes, prevail'd over his Resentment and Justice. Yet the Disobedience of the Prince did not go altogether unpunish'd. The Emperor gave him a thorough Sense of the Punishment his Treason deserv'd. The very Day that *Jehan-Guir* was releas'd from his Captivity, *Akebar* led him into a private Forest, under a Pretence of hunting. 'Twas only to shew the Delinquent a terrible Spectacle, which might serve for an eternal Lesson to him of the Respect that is owing to one's Soveraign. *Akebar* had caus'd the Heads of a Hundred of the Principal Conspirators to be hung to the Branches of a Tree, in the midst of a Wood. *Jehan-Guir* knew 'em all and was struck at the Sight: but he was much more mov'd at the hearing of these Words of his Father. You had forget Traytor, that I am your Father; but I cannot forget that you are my Son. The Revenge I have taken on your Accomplices, teaches you what you deserve; I spare that Life which I have

given you, and which you have attempted to rob me of. Yet in spight of all any Tenderness, there's one kind of Punishment you can't escape, and which I can't in Reason prevent. It will for ever be read in the Chronicles of your Country, that one of the first Princes of the Blood of *Tamerlane*, *Jehan-Guir*, conspir'd against the Life of his Father. At least then spare your self the Shame of leaving to Posterity the Remembrance of a second Crime. The Young Prince made a Wise Use of Counsels, given with Circumstances so moving by a Father so full of Goodness. He repair'd the Disobedience of a few Months by a sincere Application ever after to all the Offices of a dutiful Son.

As the Valour of *Jehan-Guir* had been the Principal cause of his Revolt, *Akebar* resolv'd to furnish him with occasions of exercising his Courage, without exposing him to the danger of a Second Rebellion. He form'd the Design of invading a very powerful *Raja*. His Territories cut off the *Mogols* Communication with the Kingdom of *Bengale*; the Conquests of which he had in his Thoughts. That Prince was called *Carn*. *Akebar* had carry'd on this Design with the greatest Secrecy; he had not communicated it to one of his Council; And yet 'twas discours'd all over *Agra*, that a War was resolv'd on against this *Raja*. The Emperor was amaz'd to find the people had divin'd his real Intentions, and was willing to trace the matter to its first Author. He found that one of the Slaves of the Palace, whose business it was to beat off the Flies, while the Emperor Slept, had divulg'd the Secret. *Akebar* desird to know how he had div'd into his Thoughts: The Slave confess'd to him thus,

As you were taking your Nap about Noon, I perceiv'd that you pointed with your Finger to that Side in which the Territories of the *Raja Carn* lye. Then you made all the Gestures of a Man who fights with the *Bow* and the *Sabre*. Afterwards, you took hold of your Beard, and put your self in the posture of a Person, who wou'd humble another in his Presence. As this *Raja* is the only *Indian* who wears a long Beard after the manner of the *Mahometans*, and on the other hand, his Country as I well know, lyes Convenient to you, I judg'd that you thought even in your Dreams of making War with the *Raja Carn*. I mention'd it at first only as a random Guess, but the report as is usual upon such Occasions, has spread about for a certainty. *Akebar* own'd that the Slave had guess'd Right, and wou'd never after permit any Body to keep near him in his Sleep. But finding that this Design that taken Wind, he thought no more of leaving the Execution of it to his Son.

The Emperor might however have empoly'd the Valour of *Jehan-Guir* in the North, on the other side of the River *Indus*. We have already said, that the *Patanes* who were defeated by *Amayum* were retired into inaccessible Mountains. There they had founded a kind of a small State between *Cabul* and the *Tartars*. They often sallied out from those Retreats and made Incursions into the Territories of the *Mogol*. They were Enemies so much the more to be fear'd as they had well grounded Pretensions on the Kingdom of *Dely*, of which they had been dispossest not many Years before. *Akebar* therefore order'd an Army of Fourscore Thousnnd Men to March against 'em. The whole Kingdom of *Cabulestan* was

drain'd, to furnish so great a Number of Troops. *Jehan-Guir* passionately desir'd to have the chief Command. His father, did not think this Convenient. The event justify'd the precaution of *Akebar*. The Fourscore Thousand Men which enter'd the Country of the *Patanes* all fell by the Edge of the Sword, or Perish'd for want in the midst of Deserts. The destruction of that people was reserv'd for another Emperor as we shall see here after.

The Projects af War, which *Akebar* was continually forming on one another, oblig'd him to erect a School for Cannoneers. There was Artillery enough in the *Indies*. There's Reason to think that the *Chinese*, who doubtless had been formerly Masters of *Indoustan*, had left some Pieces there, of which it's impossible to discover the Antiquity. It happn'd unluckily that there were but few in the *Indies* who knew how to make use of 'em, with the same Art that we do in *Europe*.

Akebar therefore resolv'd to employ *Europeans*, and invite 'em by Rewards to come to *Agra*. The English, had made Settlements not long before on the Coast of *Indoustan*, and soon acquir'd a great Reputation of Valour. In Sea Fights they Commonly had the Advantage of the *Portugals*. They are since Establish'd at *Suratte*, where they begin to carry on a great Trade. 'Twas from this Town of *Suratte* that *Akebar* procur'd English Men for his Artillery. One of these Gunners had an extraordinary Reputation of Skill among those of his own Country; and was no less Famous for drinking. He was at a strange Loss, when he found himself in the *Mahametan* Country, where Taverns are forbid by the

Law. Mark the Cunning of the Man to have the Liberty and Conveniency of drinking. One Day that the Emperor had a Mind to see a Tryal of his Skill, there was a large Piece of Cloath set up for a Mark, at a reasonable Distance on the other Side of a River, where the Gunner was to shoot. The English Man levell'd his Piece so ill, that he did not come a near so fair a Mark. The King was surpriz'd, and began to abuse him. Sir, says the English Man, ever since I have left off drinking Wine, my Sight is so weaken'd that I do not perceive the plainest Object at a very small Distance. Nothing but Wine is capable of restoring the Organs of my Sight, and making me perceive Objects as I used to do. The Palace was never without Wine, *Akebar* kept some for his own drinking, and the Elephants had every Day a certain Quantity given them. The King order'd a Bottle to be brought for the Gunner, who drank it off at a Draught. Then desiring the Mark might be chang'd, (which after his Wine seem'd too large) for another not much broader than the Diameter of the Bullet, he hit it exactly, and had the King's Applause. From that time *Akebar* allow'd his *European* Gunners to plant Vineyards about *Agra*, and the Wine they make there is Excellent. This Ordinance of the Kings was inserted in the Chronicle with this Preamble, *Wine is as natural to* Europeans, *as Water to fish, and to forbid the Use of it, is in Effect depriving 'em of Life.* This Liberty of planting Vineyards, which the Strangers in the *Mogol's* Service enjoy, is a vast Profit to 'em. Wine being scarce and very dear at *Agra*, and the Vines not Subject in the *Indies* to the Hazard

of nipping frosts, as they are in Europe; so that it's a certain Revenue.

Nor did Akebar take only English Gunners into his Service. He sent for Artists of all other Kinds from *Goa*: as Lapidaries, Enamellers, Goldsmiths, Surgeons and Physicians all of *Europe*.

Akebar became acquainted with the Christian Religion by converting with 'em, and had some Thoughts almost at the same time of embracing it. The Vice Roy of *Goa* had sent *Anthony Criminal* to the *Mogol's* Court, in Quality of an Ambassador. He was a Person truly deserving the Name of Christian; and who did Honour to his Profession, by the Purity of his Manners.

The Piety, Integrity, and irreproachable Behaviour of the *Portuguese* Ambassador, made an Impression on the Mind of *Akebar*. He judg'd of all the Christians by one Man's Practice, and perswaded himself, that so much Probity could not be inspired but they the true Religion. The Emperor had a Mind to know the Articles of it, which the Ambassador discoursed of only in the general, adding, that it belonged properly to the Preachers of his Religion to explain particular Points, and unfold all the Mysteries of it, and that Two Jesuits at that time in the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and employed in the Conversion of the *Indians*, wou'd think it a great Service to God, shou'd they be called to the Instruction of the greatest Monarch of the East.

This Discourse induc'd the Prince to send for a Missionary to *Bengall*. 'Tis very likely but not certain that he was a *Jesuit*. From this Preacher it was that the Emperor learn-

ed to despise the *Alcoran*, and esteem the Gospel. To converse with him more frequently, and more privately, he learn'd the *Portuguese* Language with a surprising Facility, and resolved at the Missionarie's Request, to invite as many Jesuits as he cou'd to come into his Dominions. Here follows the Letter which he wrote to 'em to *Goa*.

Akebar, *great Emperor of the World, to the venerable Fathers* † *of St.* Paul. *I have address'd to you in my Behalf* Ebadola, *with an Interpreter to testify to you the Affection I have for you. He will desire you in my Name to send to my Court some of your Fathers, learn'd in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, and capable of explaining to me the profound Mysteries of your Religion. I have equally a Desire of understanding it thoroughly, and becoming a Member of it. You may from hence judge, that your fathers shall be received here with Satisfaction and Honour. Let 'em come then, and be assur'd, that I will permit them freely to return to* Goa, *as soon as they have reason to complain of my Docility; as for the rest, they may depend on my Protection.*

† So they call'd the *Jesuits* in the *Indies*.

The Jesuits of *Goa* were overjoy'd at this Letter of the Mogol. All put up their Prayers for the obtaining from Heaven a Mission so favourable for the extending the faith. The Lot fell upon the P. P. *Rodolphus Aqua-viva Anthony Manserrat*, and *Francis Heneric*. The first who had been declar'd their Superior was Son to the Duke of *Atri*, and Nephew of Father *Claudae Aqua-viva,* afterwards General of the Jesuits. Father *Rodolphus*, after having renounc'd great worldly Advantages in his Ge-

neration, had likewise abandon'd the Sweets of his native Country, to consecrate himself to the Mission of the *Indies*.

The Apostleship of the *Mogol* fell to his Lot. One can scarce conceive with what Impatience *Akebar* expected the Missionaries at *Fetipour*. As he was naturally ardent in all his Desires, he no sooner knew of their setting out but he was continually asking whether they were arrived.

The Emperor received the Fathers with as much Goodness, as he had desir'd them with Ardor. He spent all the Night in entertaining 'em and under Pretence of providing what was necessary, he order'd a considerable Sum of Money to be presented to 'em. The Missionaries excused themselves and pleaded their Vows of Poverty, which separated them from all the good things of this World. These were a Bareer which the Emperor's Liberality was never able to force. A Disinterestedness so uncommon among the Ministers of the *Mahometan* Religion gave a great Advantage to the Christian Religion. The Fathers made their Present to the *Mogol*; a Bible in Four Languages, of a fine Impression, and Two Pictures, one of *Jesus Christ*, the other of the blessed Virgin. *Akebar* receiv'd the Bible and laid it on his Head, in Token of Respect; he kiss'd the Pictures, and made his Children kiss 'em.

From this time forward, the visit which the Missionaries made the Emperor did not end in bare Complements. *Akebar* desir'd to be thoroughly inform'd of the Imposture of the *Alcoran*, and the Principles which render'd the Gospel worthy of Belief. Accordingly they be-

gun on every *Saturday* to hold regular Disputes with the *Moulas.* The Jesuits had brought an *Alcoran* from *Goa.* Father *Heneric*, a *Persian* by Nation, serv'd as an Interpreter for his Companions. His Assistance was useful in confounding the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law. The Fathers insisted principally on that kind of Bliss which *Mahomet* promises the *Musselmen* in another Life. They shew'd the Scandalousness of the Promises, which the Seducer has made to carnal Men for the bringing 'em over to his side, by a Gratification of the brutal Passions. So far the Emperor was convinc'd of the Weakness of the *Alcoran*; he compar'd the spirit of Pride and Sensuality which reigns in it with the Spirit of Humility and Mortification so conspicuous in the Gospel. It's says he, by shedding their own Blood, that the Chiristians have propagated their Truths all over the World, and 'tis by shedding the Blood of others that *Mahometism* has prevail'd in the East. These general Prejudices alone had shaken the Emperor in his Religion.

The fathers were constantly receiv'd at the Palace, with the greatest Demonstrations of Kindness; but they knew the Temper of the Eastern People. Protestations among them don't always proceed from the Heart. To satisfy themselves therefore of the Sincerity of *Akebar* Father *Aquaviva* ventur'd to speak to him after this Manner. Your Majesty cannot be Ignorant upon what Conditions we forsook a plentiful Harvest, to come and declare to you *Jesus Chirst.* We have your promise, that we shall be permitted to return to the Place from whence we came if we perceive that the Seed sown proves barren in your

Court. We therefore take the Boldness to intreat your Majesty, to fix a a time in which you will be pleas'd to declare for *Mahomet* or for Jesus Christ.

The Emperor was not shockt at this Freedom of the Missionary. So serious a Change, answers *Akebar*, is in the Hands of God. For my Part I shall never cease to implore his Light and Assistance.

So Prudent an Answer might make one in all Appearance look on the Conversion of the Emperor as a Thing Infallible. The Fathers were not dazzl'd at it. They were still afraid that Dissimulation and Policy so natural to the *Mogols*, had the greatest Share in this fine Discourse, Mean time they receiv'd daily Demonstrations of Esteem from the Court.

Akebar understood that the House appointed for the Fathers stood incommodiously, and was expos'd to the Noise of Passengers, he order'd 'em an Apartment within the Verge of his Palace. This was the first time, that ever an Altar was erected to Jesus Christ in the midist of a *Mahometan* Court. The Fathers had even the Consolation of gaining some Disciples of the Royal Family. The Education of the Second Son of *Akebar* was committed in the Father *Manserat*. He was instructed in the *European* Sciences, and in the Knowledge of our holy Misteries at the same time. *Pahari*, so the young Prince was call'd, was about Thirteen Years of Age, when he was put under the Tuition of the Missionaries. His Wit, and the sweetness of his Temper, gave 'em hopes of finding one Day in his Person a Protector of Christianity among the *Mogols*;

but the *Indian* Inconstancy prevail'd in him over the *Tartar* Solidity.

Akebar still retain'd in his Heart, I know not what seeds of Aversion, for the Eldest of his sons. *Pahari* was the object of his Tenderness, so that he stuck at nothing to Accomplish him. His Design was to give him by his Education that Ascendant which he was depriv'd of by the order of Birth. The Emperor often visited the Fathers, at the time that they were employ'd in instructing his beloved Son. One Day the young Prince begun in the Presence of the Emperor to repeat his Lesson with these Words, *In the Name of Almighty God*, add, my Son says *Akebar*, *and of Jesus Christ the true Prophet*. Afterwards he enter'd the Chappel which the Fathers had fitted up in their Apartment; And Worship'd our Saviour falling prostrate on the Ground, then seating himself on Cushions, according to the Custom of the Country, he begun a Conversation with the Missionaries which discover'd the bottom of his Soul.

You Can't be Ignorant, says he, of the deep Veneration which I have enteratain'd for the Religion you have Taught me. Every thing Speaks in it's Favor. The Miracles of the *Missias* attested even by the *Alcoran*, the holy Morality of the Gospel, its Establishment by ways of Simplicity and Sufferings are insurmountable Proofs which lead me to acknowledge Jesus Christ to be a Prophet sent from God. But when you raise my Thoughts beyond what's Sensible in the Person of the *Messias*, I lose my self in the Sublimity of your Mysteries. Demonstrate to me, added he, the eternal Generation of the Word in the Bosom of his Father, and his miraculous Incarnation in

the fullness of Time, and I'll subscribe without Reserve to all the Articles which you propose to my Belief.

The *Missionaries* laid hold of the principles of which the Emperor seem'd to be convinc'd and drew from 'em Consequences favourable to our most incomprehensible Mysteries. Jesus Christ, said they, Appears to you to have sufficiently prov'd his *Mission* by Miracles attested even by the *Alcoran*; the Holiness of his Morality is a Testimony of the Truth of his Religion; his Character of Prophet carries its own Authority along with it; we must therefore believe him on his Word. He assures us *that he was before Abraham.* All the Monuments which are preserv'd to us of him, confirm a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead; the Miracles which you do Believe are a sufficient Foundation for the belief of the Mysteries he hath reveal'd, and which you cannot comprehend. The Emperor was struck with the Force of these Reasons; broke off the Conversation with Tears in his Eyes, and repeated several Times, *What! Become a Christian! Change the Religion of my Fathers! How dangerous for an Emperor! How difficult for a Man bred up in the ease and liberty of the* Alcoran!

At the same time A*kebar* was fully convinc'd in his Judgment of the falsehood of the Books of *Mahomet*, and took a Pleasure in confounding the Doctors of his Religion. It the Books of Moses, says he, and that of the Psalms are Inspir'd as *Mahomet* himself allows, why does he forbid us to read 'em? 'Tis said in the A*lcoran*, that the Gospels of *Jesus Christ* are faithful Scriptures. And yet what a difference do we find in the main Points of Religion, between one and other;

does the Almighty differ from himself, when he speaks by the Organs and by the Voice of *Jesus*; to deliver myself from a Perplexity, into which I'm thrown by the Contradictions I percieve between Two Books, which I'm equally oblig'd to look on as Divine if I take *Mahomet's* Word shou'd I not argue thus; It's allow'd o' both sides that the Gospel's Divine; The Christians do not allow that the A*lcoran* is; Therefore, in Prudence, I ought to go over to the surest side, and Renounce, the A*lcoran* which the Christians reprove, for the Gospel which the *Mahometans* revere.

Thoughts so very favourable to Christianity cou'd not however engage Ak*ebor* to embrace it. He permitted it to be Preach'd all over his Dominions. He suffer'd our Ceremonies to appear in Publick in all their Majesty. He consented to the interring a *Portuguese* with all the Pomp of the Roman Religion. The cross was then carry'd for the first time through the Streets of *Fetipour*. Ak*ebar* was pleas'd within himself on his procuring that Triumph to *Jesus Christ*. It may truly be said, that the Seed of Christianity had fallen on the Princes Heart; but Incontinency had render'd it hard as a stone. The Ambition of a Doctor of the *Mahometan* Law, had like to have accomplish'd the Emperors, Conversion, which all the Zeal of the Missionaries was not able to Perform.

A*bdul-Fasil* so the *Moula* was call'd, thought he cou'd not make his Court better to the Emperor than by embracing Sentiments agreeable to his Inclinations. He declar'd himself in favour of the *Missionaries*, and by that complaisance insinuated himself into the favour of A*kebar*, so far

as to draw on himself the Jealously of all his Competitors. He talkt to him incessantly of *Jesus Christ*; to discover'd to him the Absurdities of the A*lcoran*, which he had study'd from his Infancy. He touch'd him in the most sensible part by a Thought the likelyest to make him change the establish'd Religion. Never, says he, was the Authority of your Predecessors at near so high a Pitch a yours. 'Tis still more Glorious to signalize your self to Posterity, by some Proof of your Empire over the Minds of you Subjects, than by the Ascendant which you have gain'd over your Enemies. Do but say the Word Sir and you shall see all *Indoustan* cast off it's antient Prejudices, and submit to a Doctrine which there Difference for all your Opinions will quickly make 'em Embrace. 'Twou'd undoubtedly be much for the Interest for your Dominions to have no more Religions than one, but it's impossible that this one shou'd be the *Mahometan*; the hatred of the *Indians* for the A*lcoran* is Hereditary. 'Tis the Religion of their Conquerors. They begun to hate it when they began to wear our Chains. Try whether Christianity may not be happy enough in the *Indies* to possess alone the Place of M*ahometism* and *Idolatry*.

A*kebar* cou'd not but be well enough inclin'd to promote his Glory and the interest of his Dominions, by following his inward Convictions. He declar'd to the M*issionaries* that he was about to strike the Blow which shou'd convince 'em of the Sincerity of his Esteem for the Gospel. Matters were in this situation, when the growing Religion of the Prince was brought into a Temptation through an unforeseen Calamity.

The *Patanes* a restless Nation had rovolted. The Emperors Brother took Arms in their Favour and stir'd up the whole Country of *Cabulestan* against Akebar. In this Conjuncture the Doctor of the Mahometan Law made their utmost efforts to get the King once more into their own Hands. Heaven, said they, have permitted so many domestick broils to afflict a Prince it had always favour'd only as a Punishment for his quitting the Musulman Religion. Let him but return again to us and all will be calm. The Emperor apprehended at the same time, that his eldest Son wou'd take Advantage of a Conjuncture so favourable to his Ambition, to enflame the People already inclin'd to Revolt. Thus whether from a regard for the Religion of his Ancestors, or from a fear of losing the affections of his People or from a Dereliction of the Spirit of God who resists the Proud Akebar felt a great deal of Coldness for the Christan Religion. He avoided the Conversations of the Fathers, he spoke no more to 'em with that Familiarity he used to do; if he gave 'em the hearing at any time, 'twas with an Air of Negligence which wholly disheartend 'em; he even seem'd in a publick dispute, and contrary to his custom, to espouse a little too warmly the Party of the Moulas.

'Tis True, the Missionaries were at Liberty to employ that Zeal for the Conversion of the People, which was rendered useless at Court. Akebar had open'd a way for their Doctrine by permitting his Subjects to embrace the Gospel; but the Fathers had known by Experience how difficult a thing it is to convert Mahometans. Nothing but the Authority of the Prince, or a Revolution in the State, can wrest a Religion from their

Hearts which was originally introduced by Violence.

The Functions of the *Missionaries* were therefore wholly confin'd to a small Flock of *European Christians*, invited by the Emperor into his Service. In fine, the Fathers grew faint to see their Ministry languish in Court and Town. They were no longer able to bear the *Caprices* of *Akebar* who seem'd to have sided for a while with the *Christians*, only out of meer Curiosity, or to divert himself with Disputes about Religion. They were just ready to return to *Goa* when *Abul-Fasil* interposed.

The Emperor, says he, sees you with Pleasure in his Palace. Nothing but Reasons of State hinder him from declaring publickly in Favour of the Religion which you have preach'd to him. But yesterday I saw him lay the Gospels with Reverence on his Head, and Honour he never pay'd the *Alcoran* when presented to him. Shew your Perseverance, added he, and let time bring the Work to Maturity, which your Labours have so far advanced. It's to be supposed that *Abul-Fasil* had told the Emperor of the Design of the Missionaries to leave the Kingdom. At least, it's certain that *Akebar* seem'd to renew his good Graces for them. He made 'em several Visits, he sometimes spoke to 'em of Religion, last of all as a Proof of his intire Confidence, he engag'd 'em to instruct his Eldest Son in the *European* Sciences.

These Demonstrations did not Flatter *P. Aquaviva's* Hopes so far as to make him let the Labourers in the Gospel, of whom the Rest of the *Indies* stood in so much need, spend their Time in inaction. He writ to his Superiors that one Missionary was

sufficient for the Court of the *Mogol* to watch the Princes favourable Moments, and take Care of the Christians who sojourn'd there. In effect the Emperor soon after declar'd that his Conversion was a Thing at a great Distance. I find myself, said he, to the Fathers, wedded to *Mahometisme* by Tyes I'm not able to break.

The *Moulas* of the Palace and the *Sultaness* my Mother never cease inveighing against the new Religion which I protect. I have yet greater Contests with the Women of my *Seraglio*. In the Dread of being cast off, as soon as Christianity has reduced me to one Wife, there's no kind of Caresses which they don't employ to tear *Jesus Christ* from my Heart. In a Word, the Gospel's too holy, and my Manners are too corrupt.

P. Aquaviva took Occasion from so sincere Discourse, to desire *Akebar's* leave to return to *Goa*. The Emperor quickly repented him of his Frankness. Are you Ignorant my Father, says he, how necessary your Presence is to me? The stronger my Chains are, the more need I have of an able Hand to break them. Will you forsake me in the Time of my greatest Need? Father *Rodolphus* cou'd not resist so moving an Application. He sent away the two Companions of his Mission, Father *Henry* for *Goa*, and Father *Manserat* for the Town of *Agra* with the Prince his Disciple for this part, he staid alone with the *Mogol* at *Fetipour*.

'Tis difficult to determine whether the Father suffer'd more from the Princes Favour or from the Vexations which the fickle Disposition of *Akebar* gave him afterwards. The Consideration which the Emperor had for the Missionary, created him a deal of Envy at Court. They often

attempted against his Life. In fine, the Malice of his Enemies grew to such a Heighth that the Emperor wou'd oblige him to take a Guard. No. Sir, says the Father an Apostolick Person is Sufficiently protected by the Trust he's obliged to repose in God. 'Twere better for him to die than be destitute of it. Thus that Zealous Missionary manifested his Courage before-hand, which some time after made him pour out his Blood for *Jesus Christ* in the Island at *Salsette*.

The Life of Father A*quaviva* was answerable to his Doctrines. He was wholly taken up with his Zeal for the Work of God, and such studies as he thought necessary for answering the Difficulties of the M*oulas*, while the Emperor was at *Fetipour*. The War he was to maintain against his Brother, which carry'd him as far as the Banks of the Indus, left Father *Rodolphus* in a perfect Solitude. The Missionary employ'd this Interval of Repose in labouring more particularly for his own Perfection. He spent all the day, and the greatest Part of the Night at Prayers. He took but little Sleep and that some times on the Ground, or laid along on a Mat. His Nourishment was only Rice baked with Water. His Visits were regulated by Charity, and his Austerity seem'd to surpass the Force of Nature. He was often found at Prayers at the Appearance of the morning Star, in the same Posture as he had plac'd himself at the Setting of the Sun.

Mean time *Akebar* overcame his Enemies, and constrain'd the Rebel *Patanes* to retire to their Mountains. His Brother vanquished more than once, grew peaceful. Victory which swells the Heart, made the Emperor despise the Humility of the Cross, and the Distractions of War made

him forget the Desire he formerly had to hear Father *Aquaviva*, & be instructed in the Misteries of our Religion. *Akebar*, upon his Return, carried himself very strange to the Missionary. 'Twas easily seen that the Prince in sending for *Jesuits* to *Goa*, had no other Design than that of settling a Trade with the *Portuguese*, and satisfying his Passion for the European Sciences.

The Truth is, love of Knowledge, was *Akebar's* predominant Passion. It put him upon a Thought which looks odd enough. He had a Mind to try what Language Children wou'd speak, who had never been taught any. The Emperor had heard say that Hebrew was the natural Language of all who were not form'd by Education to another Speech. To satisfy himself in this Point, he caus'd a dozen Children at the Breast to be shut up in a Castle, scituate about six leagues from *Agra*. They were rear'd by a like Number of dumb Nurses, and the Porter who was given 'em was likewise a Mute. He was forbidden upon Pain of Death, never to open the Gates of the Castle. When the Children had attain'd to the Age of twelve Years *Akebar* order'd them to be brought before him. He assembl'd in his Palace Persons learn'd in all Languages. A Jew, who then happen'd to be at *Agra* was to tell whether the Children spoke Hebrew or not. 'Tws no difficult Matter to find *Arabians* and *Chaldeans* in this Capital City. On the other hand, the *Indian* Philosophers pretended the Children wou'd speak the *Hanscrite* Tongue, which is in the Nature of Latin with them, and is not understood but by their Learned Men. They study it to understand the Antient Books of Philosophy and *Indian* Theology. When these Chil-

dren appear'd before the Emperor, the Company was surpris'd to find they could speak no Language at all. They had learn'd from their Nurses to make a shift without Words, and only express'd themselves by Gestures. In fine, they were so shie and bashful, that 'twas a very hard Matter to catch 'em to loose their Tongues, which they had made but little Use of in all their Lives.

Another of *Akebar's* Curiosities was, that of knowing the Source of the *Ganges*. The River the Most Eastern of all *Indoustan* runs its Course from North to South, and produces at the Mouth of it in the Kingdom of *Bengale* almost the same Effects as those of the *Nile* in *Egypt*. At certain Seasons of the Year, it overflows in some Places and the Slime it leaves behind renders the Soil friutful. Nor does it resemble the *Nile* in this one particular only. The Idolatrous *Indians* worship it, and look on it's Waters as capable of washing away their Sins. It's Source has always been the Ground of Dispute between the *Brahmanes* of these, and the *Gymnosophists* of former Times. In the Days of *Akebar* it was still unknown, as the Source of the Nile was unknown not above an Age ago. The Emperor therefore spar'd no Cost to discover the Head of a River which was the best Jewel in his Crown. He Commissionated certain Persons, with Orders to steer Northwards by the Banks of the *Ganges*, till they arrived at its Fountain. He furnish'd 'em with Provisions, Horses, Mony, and Letters of Recommendation for passing undisturbed thro' all the Counties bordering upon the *Ganges*, and which were not of his own Dependance. They kept on their Course towards the North, and the nearer they approa-

ched the Source, the narrower the River grew. They pass'd through untrodden Forests, where they were forc'd to cut out Paths for themselves, At last, they arriv'd at a high Mountain, which seem'd to be shaped by Art into the Form of a Cows Head. Out of it issues a vast Quantity of Water, which the Commissioners supposed to be the Source of the *Ganges*. They penetrated no farther, they return'd after having run through various Dangers, to give the Emperor an Account of their Travels. Their Relation was inserted in the Chronicle from whence I haae taken it. And after all, they have told us nothing new. Long before *Akebars* Time, the People in the *Indies* were perswaded that the *Ganges* took its Source in a high Mountain, whose Figure resembl'd that of a Cows Head. For this Reason those Animals are said to have been a long time an Object of Worship among the *Indians*. In effect, their greatest Hopes of the Happiness of future Life, consists in being able to die in the Waters of the *Ganges*, holding by a Cows Tail. The *Indians* since the Days of *Akebar* have made some further Discoveries, and found that the *Ganges* only forms a Cascade on the Mountain from whence they believed it took its Source; but rises much higher into the Country towards the middle of great *Tartary*.

It is easily conceiv'd that a Prince of his Nature so curious and inquisitive must be inclinable to Novelties in Religion. He was bred up by his Father in the Contempt of the *Mahometan* Law, and was confirmed in it by the Missionaries. But outwardly he still made Profession of it. He declar'd for the Sect of *Ali*, which the true *Musselman* took upon as Hereticks. He was rather inclin'd to this

sect than to that *Sonnis* (who boast themselves the only *Orthdox*) not so much from a Desire of bringing over the *Persians*, as from a Spirit of Contradiction, and to distinguish himself from those of the common Belief-

Afterwards Christianity which the Jesuits preached at his Court, took him by the Charms of it's Novelty. If he did not embrace it for Reasons of Interest, and from an invincible Inclination for Pleasures ; he thought at least, that he might from one Religion out of all the rest and be able to get it receiv'd throughout his Dominions. *Mahomet*, says he, was but a Man as I am, and not near so powerful. He has invented a Religion after his own Fancy, composed of Judaisme, Christianity, and the Productions of his own Brain, By it the pretended Prophet has immortaliz'd his Name, and great Emperors call themselves his Disciples. 'Tis both for my Interest, and Glory, to become the Head, and Inventer of a new Religion. My people, says he, are a strange Medley of Mahometans, Idolaters and Christians. I'm resolved to bring them all to one Opinion. I'll joyn the Baptism of the one, and the Circumcision of the other to the Worship of *Brama*. I'll retain the *Metempsichosis*, plurality of Wives, and the Worship of *Jesus Christ*. Thus compounding my Religion of those Points, which are most agreeable to the Professors of the respective Sects, I shall be able to form 'em into one intire Flock, of which I my self shall be the Leader and Head.

Akebar began to put his great Design in Execution, and had already taken on him the Name of *Cha-Geladin*, that is to say, *the Potent King of the Sovereign Law.*

Lahor, an Imperial City where the M*ogol* had a P*alace*, seem'd to him the properest Place to lay the Scene of this new Religion. The Neighbourhood of the Army, which he had assembl'd near that Place, for the projected Conquest of *Cachemire*, was a Circumstance which an Innovator in Matters of Religion ought by no means to neglect. *Lahor* then was the Place where he first declar'd himself an Enemy to *Mahomet*. The *Mosques* were shut up or chang'd into Stables for the Conveniency of the Court. Those high Steeples which are also called *Alcorans*, from whence the *Moulas* read Prayers to the *Musselmen*, were interdicted. The people were excited to follow the Religion of their Prince. He instituted the Laws of it, he practised the Ceremonies, and exhorted all the Officers of his Court to submit to his Pleasure. *Akebar* ador'd the Sun three times a day first at the rising of this Planet, next when it is in the Meridian, and last of all at its setting in the Evening. So far he held with the *Pagan* Religion. Then he had his set Hours for the Worship of J*esus* and M*ary*. He wore about his Neck a small Box of Reliques which he had receiv'd of Father *Aquaviva*, an *Agnus Dei*, and a Picture of the Holy Virgin. This was all that he thought fit to borrow from the Christian Religion. He put off his Baptism to another Time. As to the *Mahometan* Religion, he allow'd the Use of Circumcision; and after the Manner of *Musselmen*, ran over the Praises of God on a kind of large Beads. What fill'd up the Measure of his Iniquity, was his getting himself worship'd as a God. He appear'd every Morning at a Balcony in view of his prostrate People. He receiv'd their Vows, he heard their Supplications, and caus'd a Report

to be spread among the credulous Populace, that the Petitions made to him, were always miraculously granted.

Father A*quaviva* was no longer proof against the Trouble, which this change of the *Prince* gave him, whose Conversion he had had hopes of. He resolved to quit the Territories of the M*ogol*, and return to *Goa*. He presented himself with Tears in his Eyes before the Emperor, whom he went to wait upon as far as *Lahor*. Sir, says he, the time of my Departure is at Hand. It is not fit for you to detain me, nor am I permitted to stay any longer at your Court.. You promis'd the M*issomaries* before they set out from G*oa*,that you wou'd freely permit 'em to return to the P*ortuguese* Ter ritories, when ever their Ministry shou'd become useless in your Dominions. One wou'd think they had done more harm than good. The only use Sir, that you have made of our Instructions, and of the Knowledge we have given you of *Christianity*, has been to profane it's Misteries, by blending it with *Idolatry* and the M*ahometan* Impieties. The scandal you give your people, reflects in some measure upon me. They imagine that I am the Author of the new form of Worship which you have introduc'd. I'm oblig'd in Duty to efface the ill Example of a Conduct, in which I have had no share, by a publick Renunciation. I cannot do it more effectually than by quitting your Court, and letting the people understand by my voluntary Departure, that my Instructions are not the cause of the Revolution, which you have begun. No, Sir, my Eyes will no longer behold you Usurp the Place of God, and receive a Worship which belongs only to the Almighty. I will however offer him up my Prayers for sus-

pending his Vengeance, and giving Your Majesty Time to return to him.

Akebar was neither mov'd, nor offended, at this Discourse of Father *Aquaviva.* He was yet in the first Moments of a Drunkenness, which the Applauses of the *People* had occasion'd; besides, he knew the Zeal of the Missionary; and was accustom'd to hear his Advice without Emotion. *Akebar* Lov'd Father *Aquaviva* sincerely; and therefore used all his Endeavours to keep him in the Empire. Father *Rodolphus* persisted in his Resolution, and the Emperor at last consented to let him depart. Indeed, the *Mogol* gave the Father at his departure a very sensible Proof of his Affection. There was in the *Palace* a *Polish* Slave Marry'd to a Slave of *Muscovy.* These Two *Christians* were in the Service of the *Sultaness,* Mother of *Akebar.* The *Polish* slave, which was the Wife, was a particular Favorite of the Princess, and there was very little likelyhood that the *Sultaness* wou'd part with her. However, *Akebar* at the Instances of Father *Aquaviva* abtained their Liberty for the Husband, and Wife, and Two of their Children. These were all the Riches the *Missionary* carry'd out of the Richest Country in the World. He took the Road of *Goa* with the Spoils he had rescu'd from the *Infidels.* From thence having enter'd upon other Missions, he consummated his Sacrifice in the Year 1583, a few Months after his Departure from the *Mogol.*

Temporal Blessings are sometimes Instances of the divine Anger. *Akebar* never was more successful than at the Time of his greatest Deviation from the Truth. After having got himself worshipp'd as a God at the Head of his Army, he conducted it to *Cachemire.* That noble King-

dom receiv'd it's Conqueror almost without Resistance. The *Mogol* became Master of it without shedding a Drop of Blood. Any one else wou'd have drawn from hence Matter of more Presumption, and an occasion of Rivalling the Almighty. This was not *Akebar's* Way. As he was a Man of a solid Judgment, he made deep Reflexions on the Extravagance of his Pretensions. Besides, his Remorse scarce allow'd him a Moment's Peace of Mind. He disclos'd his Uneasiness to the wife *Abdul-Fasil*; for now there was not a Jesuit left in his Dominions. Father *Manserat* had perswaded him, that 'twere proper to depute him for Spain to the new King *Don Philip*, who by the death of Cardinal *Henry* King of *Portugal*, had succeeded to all the Dominions of *Portugal*. *Abdul-Fasil* was naturally complaisant and ambitious. He had follow'd the Torrent of the Court, ador'd the King, and declar'd for the new Religion notwithstanding all his Lights. When he saw the Emperor begin to be disgusted at his own impious Attempt, he made some Offers to bring him to himself again. In fine he advis'd him to send for new Missionaries in the Place of the old, as the last and only Remedy for the Trouble of his Soul.

An *Armenian* Deacon, who happen'd to be at the Court of the *Mogol*, was pitch'd upon as the properest Person for such a Negotiation with the Vice-Roy of *Goa*. He was likewise charged with a Letter for the Provincial of the *Jesuits* in these Words. *In the Name of* Almighty God. *The most High and most Invincible Emperor* Akebar, *to the Fathers of St.* Paul, *who have been admitted to the* Grace *of* God, *who have tasted of the gift of the holy Spirit, who Obey the Laws of the* Messias *and*

who lead Mankind *to the Knowledge of Salvation, Greeting. To you venerable Fathers it is that I address my self, who have renounc'd the World and despite the Honours and Riches of it. I have carefully consider'd all the Religions of the World*; And *yet methinks, I am not sufficiently instructed in the* Misteries *of the Christian Religion. 'Tis by the means of your Fathers, whom I profess an* Affection *for, and whose Conversation I admire, that I desire to recieve still more perfect Intructions. The* Armenian Grimon, *who will deliver you my Letters has assur'd me, that I shall find among you learned* Men, *and capable of satisfying all my Doubts. Come then and confound the Doctors of the* Mahometan *Law, and be assur'd I will always congratulate your Victories. If the* Missionaries *you send me, think fit to settle their Abode in my Capital, I will provide 'em a House, and grant 'em Privileges yet greater than those their* Predecessars *enjoy'd. If they had rather return to* Goa *I will grant 'em free Leave and send them back with Honour. This Letter, is Written at the Time of the new* Moon *in* the Month of June.

The Emperor sent along with this Letter a considerable Sum of Mony to be distributed among the Poor of *Goa*, by the Hands of the *Armenian*. He had learn'd from the Missionaries, that he ought to make Atonement for his Sins, and draw upon him the Favour of God by Works of Charity. To judge of *Akebar* by the outside only, his Conversion was infallible. He had conquer'd the principal Obstacle which his Love of Pleasurë had opposed to the Change. All the Women of the *Seraglio* were dismiss'd; they were marry'd off among the Lords of the Court, and the Emperor reserv'd but one for himself. His devotion for the holy Virgin was

publickly known. On the Day of her Assumption, he caus'd a magnificent Throne to be erected, and plac'd on it the Image of the Mother of God. The *Mogol* and his Children prostrated themselves before it, and those of the Court who imitated the example, receiv'd Gratifications from the Emperor. Such was the effect of that Remorse, which stung *Akebar* incessantly. Perhaps too the Blood of Father *Aquaviva* cry'd in favour of the Prince, and obtain'd for him of Heaven such earnest desires of Conversion.

Two *Missonaries* departed from *Goa* in the Year 1589, with that joy which the near prospect of some great Enterprise for the Glory of God gives to Apostolick Persons.

These was P. P. *Edward Leighton* and *Christopher Vega*. Full of hopes of finding in *Akebar* a *Catecumen* intirely disposed for the Grace of Regeneration, they already flatter'd themselves with seeing Christianity establish'd throughout the whole Empire. The Emperor expected them at *Lahor*, and receiv'd 'em with Honour. At first he permitted 'em to keep a School for teaching the Indians to Read and Write the *Portuguese* Language. He often saw the Fathers, he propos'd to 'em the most specious Difficulties against our holy Misteries, and seem'd to be content with this Answers. And yet, tho' in all appearance he was under no prepossessions against the Religion of *Jesus Christ*, his secret Pride, or perhaps, politick Fears suspended the effect of those desires which Heaven had kindl'd in his Heart.

He admir'd our Religion but wou'd not embrace it. The Fathers had conceiv'd too great hopes of the Conversion of *Akebar*, but as they

were soon cast into despair. Impatience is a failing which commonly attends an ardent Zeal. The Two *Missionaries* had Orders to take leave of the *Mogol*, if they saw their Ministry not likely to succeed. Accordingly, they gave over the design of converting the Emperor to the Faith, and return'd to *Goa*, without carrying back any other Fruits than the Merit of their good Intentions.

The Precipitation with which the Two *Missionaries* had quitted the *Mogol*, was not approv'd at *Rome*. The General of the Jesuits gave Orders for the sending Two others to the Emperor, capable according to St. *Paul's* Advice of advancing the work of God, by *Doctrin and by Patience*. Father *Jerome Xavier*, Nephew to the Apostle of the *Indies*, and Father *Emanuel Pennero*, were set apart for this important Ministry. The first was Superior of the profess'd House of *Goa* He had earnestly aspir'd of a long time after this Mission of the *Mogol*, and truly it seem'd to him so much the more desirable, as there were more Tryals than ordinary to be undergone, and little or no Success to be expected in it. He set forward then in the Spirit, and under the Protection of St. *Francis Xavier* his Uncle. At length, after a deal of Fateague, the Two Fathers arriv'd at *Lahor*. The Emperor express'd as much Joy at their Arrival, as he had shewn dissatisfaction at the departure of those who preceded 'em. They had Lodgings appointed 'em in a very convenient Place near the Palace upon the Banks of the River. 'Tws a Place from which the Emperors Guards might keep off the Crouds of People. At their first Audience, Akebar shew'd 'em the Images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin *Mary*. He

press'd 'em close to his Heart,and Kiss'd 'em tenderly. The Fathers prostrated themselves before the Image of our Saviour. As Children are apt to imitate what they see others do a young *Mogol* the Grand-child of Ak*ebar*, and eldest Son of the Prince and presumptive Heir to the Crown, Kneel'd down and join'd his Hands together after the example of the M*issionaries*. The Emperor transported to see the Grand-child come so early into his own Sentiments, my Child said he, these *European* Priests,will hereafter stand you instead of a Father. Follow their Example, and profit from their Instructions. Render your self by this means worthy of governing one Day the great Kingdoms I have Conquer'd for you.

It was not possible to doubt, that Ak*ebar* was a C*hristian* from Judgment and Conviction. There was but one step more to make; That was to declare himself publickly, and receive the sign of Regeneration of J*esus* C*hrist*. To judge of his heart from the Consideration he seem'd to have for the Fathers, a body must have been perswaded that he gave their Religion the Preference. The M*issionaries* never approach'd his Throne, but he saluted 'em by bowing down his Head, and made 'em sit down after the *European* Manner.

This was a Mark of Distinction he never wou'd allow Ambassadors, or even to the Kings their Masters, who sometimes came in Person to his Court. However these Demonstrations were ambiguous; The Emperor gave more solid Proofs of his Zeal for the Faith. He was often present on the Festivals which the Fathers celebrated in their Chappel: He assisted at their Prayers, he repeated 'em on his Knees after the Fathers, he bestow'd 'em a piece of Ground to build a Church on,

and promis'd to be at all the Expense himself. Not but he discover'd by Intervals some Remains of his old Superistition. He lov'd of all Things to see his People infatuated with an Opinion of his Sanctity, address him Petitions which belong'd only to Almighty God. He even heard their Vows, and accepted their Offerings. Heaven punish'd the Pride and Impiety of this Prince after a most Signal Manner.

Upon *Easter Sunday* in the Year 1597, Ak*ebar* with all his Children about him, was celebrating a Feast in Honour of the Sun, in the midst of a Field, where he had order'd the richest Tents to be pitched. The Shew was Magnificent; Upon an Alter raised in Form of a Throne, was exposed an Image of this glorious Star contriv'd with pretious Stones to cast an insupportable Lustre. The Sky was serene, and all Kings seem'd to contribute to the grandeur of the Festival, when of a sudden, Thunder burst from Heaven upon the Congregation. The Alter was over turn'd, the Emperors Tent took Fire, & the Flame spred in an instant all over the Camp. The Damage as to the Throne only amounted to more than a Hundred Thousand Ducats. The Conflagration reach'd the Town, and seized the Imperial Palace, which was almost intirely consum'd. The immense Treasures, which the M*ogol* had heapt together became a Prey to the Fire. Vast Quantities of melted Gold and Silver ran down the Streets of *Lahor*. The Emperor was oblig'd to quit a Place, where every thing reproach'd him with his Impiety, and retir'd into the Kingdom of *Cachemire*, whither he desir'd Father *Jerome Xavier* to bear him Company.

Mean time Father P*innero* stay'd at *Lahor*, and

there employ'd himself usefully in the Conversion of the *Mahometans* and Idolaters. *Akebar*, in the Thought of making Way for his own Whims had endeavour'd to render *Mahometisme* contemptible. The Missionary made his Advantage of the Discredit this Antient Religion was fal'n into. The Jesuits Church was fill'd with Votaries from the *Mosques*.

'Tis true, they did not think it advisable in the Beginning to confer Baptism on any but such as were at the Point of Death. They knew the Nature of the People of *Indoustan*. They being born in the *Indies*, is enough to be born Inconstant. It happen'd sometimes that Baptism in restoring Health to the Soul, did also restore that of the Body. This Infant church did not even want it's Martyrs. A *Mahometan* Woman earnestly demanded Baptism for her Child then hanging at the Breast. She became the Object of the Rallery and Persecution of her Neighbours. The Mother blush'd for the Gospel, and had not Courage enough to confess *Jesus Christ* in behalf of her Son. Asham'd of having made him bear the Character of Christianity, she poision'd her Milk and destroy'd the Child. The Intercession of this little Martyr was not Unuseful to this growing Church. The Number of *Catechumenes* increas'd, and the Fathers had Confidence enough in their Virtue to grant them Baptism.

They made choice of the Day of *Pentecost* in the Year 1599 for performing this Ceremony. 'Twas indeed Magnificent considering the Country. The *Cathecumenes* walk'd in Procession thro' the Streets of *Lahor*, which were shaded with the Branches of Trees to save the Spectators from the Heat of the Sun. Drums and Trumpets, and

other Instruments after the Manner of the *Indians* march'd before the *Catechumenes*. The Missionary receiv'd them at the Church Gate, and made them Children of *Jesus Christ* in the Presence of a vast Number of People, whom the Newness of the Sight had drawn together. While the Water was powring on the Heads of the new Faithful, a Young Girl of sixteen signaliz'd her Zeal in a very surprising Manner. She demanded with a loud Voice the same Favor that was done to others. Baptism, cry'd she, Baptism. She repeated her demand with so much Vehemence, that she was soon distinguish'd in the Crowd. The Missionary let her know that none were admitted to this Sacrament, but such as were throughly instructed in the Christian Mysteries. I hope I am, say she, I have always assisted at the publick Instructions without declaring my self. She was examin'd, & found capable of being admitted into the Number of the Faithful; Regard was had to her Zeal; and she was baptiz'd. The Grace she receiv'd at the Sacrament inspir'd her with Courage. The Young Christian had always rejected the Addresses of a *Mahometan* Lord who courted her for one of his Wives. He accused the Missionary of having baptiz'd the *Indian* by Force. She gave a good Account of her Faith, and perfectly justified her Father in *Jesus Christ*. In fine, the Young *Indian* was left to her Liberty to chuse a Husband as well as a Religion. She was married to a Christian, and her Constancy was a Triumph for the Ministers of *Jesus Christ*. Such was the Progress of Christianity at *Lahor*. Father *Pinnero* gather'd with Joy the Fruits of those Evangelick seeds which his Predecessors had sown in Tears.

On the other Hand Father *Jerome Xavier* made his Advantage at *Cachemire* of the Reflections and Inquietudes of the Emperor. *Akebar* was still disturb'd about the sudden and almost Miràculous Fire of his Palace. "He inwardly condemn'd his Religion, but did not know how to rectify the false Steps he had taken. He was oblig'd as it were in Honour to maintain a Worship of his own inventing. In Secret he blam'd his Extravagancies, and maintan'd 'em in publick. God by Affliction either took Vengeance of the guilty Soul, or furnished him with new Occasions of advancing his Conversion.

Mustapha formerly vanquish'd and despoil'd of his Part in the Kingdom of *Decan*, after having Liv'd paceably for some time at the Court of the Mogol, had posses'd himself of his antient Domain, taken up Arms and assum'd the Name of *Melec*, that is to say, *King*. The *Malecontents* under the Reign of *Akebar* and particulary the Zealous *Mahometans* went over to the Rebels Side. The Emperor sent his son *Pahari*, to whom he had given the Name of *Morad*, to make Head against this growing Rebellion: The whole Empire saw plainly, that in giving the Command of his Armies to his Second Son, while he kept his Eldest in Obscurity, he intended to declare *Morad* his Successor. One Victory obtain'd by the young Prince, wou'd have fix'd him on the Throne of the *Mogols*. Providence was pleas'd to disappoint the Designs of *Akebar*, and wound him in the most sensible Part. The Imperial and Rebel Armies met near *Cambaia*. That of the young *Mogol* was much Superior in Number; but *Mustapha* was a greater Captain. All bow'd before his Valor. He made a terrible Slaughter

of the Vanquish'd and when the Battel was over the young *Morad's* Body was found among the Slain.

The Emperor was pierc'd to the Heart by this stroak of Heaven upon him in the Death of his Son. He acknowleg'd the Hand of Almighty in it, and thought it but just to submit to his Dercees. From that time he was never seen to Worship the Sun, or direct any part of that Worship on himself which is only due to Almighty God. Father *Xavier* seconded by his Discourses the Impressions which the Grace of God had made on the Heart of the Prince. Mean time the Court departed from *Cachemire* and took the Road of *Lahor*. From thence descending still towards the *South*, they arriv'd at the Capital. *Agra* was the place where he made preparations for that formidable Army which he was to Head in Person against the Rebels. While all things were getting ready, *Akebar* took no other Diversion but that of Hunting. He plung'd himself into Forrests to forget the Death of his beloved Son. Grown Solitary and Thoughtful, his Conscience begun to make him uneasy. Hunting was the only Amusement which gave him Relief; and yet 'twas in these Woods, that he met at last with his Death.

One Day that the *Mogol* went out a Hunting about *Agra*, he Rode at a great Distance before the Company, and being somewhat Try'd, he sat him down at the Foot of a Tree which himself in a Posture to Sleep, he saw creepring towards him one of those long *Catterpillars* of a Flame Colour which are hardly known any where but in the *Indies*. He took one of the Arrows out of his Quiver and with the point of it, Kill'd the In-

sect. Soon after there appear'd an *Antelope* within Bow-shot. The Emperor discharg'd at him the same Arrow with which he had Kill'd the *Catterpillar;* And though it did not Wound him in a vital part, the Beast Expir'd in an Instant. The Princes Huntsmen upon opening the *Antelope,* found all his Flesh black and corrupted, and the Dogs that Eat of it Dy'd upon the Spot. By this the Emperor perceiv'd how very subtil a Poison that of the *Catterpillar* was. He order'd one of his Huntsmen to take it home with him to Court. 'Twas then, that the Emperor created the Office of Poisoner, unknown in the *Indies* till his Time. By the *Ministry* of this New Officer, *Akebar* without any Noise, got rid of several Lords and *Rajas,* whom he suspected to be in the Conspiracy of *Mustapha.* The Poison was prepair'd into Pills, which the Emperor compell'd 'em to take in his Presence. 'Twas a slow Poyson but without Remedy. This so pernicious an Invention prov'd Fatal to the Author of it. *Akebar* carry'd always about him a Gold Box with Three Partitions. In the first was the *Betel,* or *Beet,* in the Second his *Cordial Pills,* which he made use of after his Meals, and in the Third were the poison'd *Bolus's.* It happen'd one Day, through Precipitation and Inadvertency, that he took one sort for another, and poison'd himself. He immediately perceiv'd the stroke of Death; And had recourse in vain to some Remedies which the *Portuguese* Physitians prescrib'd him. As his Distemper was of a lingring Nature, Father *Xavier* had Leisure and Liberty enough to approach him. Happy! Had he but Known how to improve the Moments which Providence seem'd to Husband for his Conversion. He dy'd in the Year 1605.

Akebar had follow'd the Custom of his Ancestors, He had erected a Magnificent Tomb for himself in his Life-time. It's a large Structure, Built of Marble and mounted with a *Cupola* of the same. The finishing was very neat, and the *Mosaick* in which the chief Onrnament consists, is all of those precious Stones which are found in great quantities in the *Indies*, and are of an extraordinary Beauty and dazling Lustre. *M. Manouchi* had a Sight of this stately Tomb, by a particular Permission from the Emperor who now Reigns. *Orang-Zeb* order'd the Walls of the *Mosque* to be hung with a Gold-brocade. His Design was to conceal from the Eyes of the *Mahometans* a long *Crucifix*, which *M. Manouchi* perceiv'd in lifting up the Hangings. He also saw there a fine Statute of the Blessed Virgin, and another of St. *Ignatius*. This is some proof that *Akebar* Dy'd a *Christian*. Tho' after all, it may be suppos'd that these Statues were placed there only for Ornaments the Emperors Tomb, as being *European* Curiosities, without regard to the Persons represented, or any design of signifying what Religion *Akebar* profess'd. Be it how it will, this illustrious Monarch had great Qualifications; and no Prince of his Blood came up to him since *Tamerlane*. Never was Emperor more skilful in tempering the *Tartarian* State with the *Indian* Mildness. The one secur'd him the respect of the great, and the other, the general Love of his People. He was a Lover of Justice, which he distributed faithfully. He gave Audience to his People Twice a Day, and heard 'em standing without seeming in the least tired or uneasy. He fixed a Golden Bell in his own Apartment, from which hung a Rope of the

outside the Palace. Such as had any pressing Occasions of recourse to his Justice, had Permission to Ring it at any Hour, and make Known their Grievances. He did not generally speaking Love the spilling of Blood. The Ministers of Justice had Orders never to put any Body to Death, without an express Command from his own Mouth, repeated at three several Times, and upon three several Days successively. If he made use of Poison, 'twas only against the secret Enemies of the State, who deserv'd a more violent Death. The Temperance of the Prince is what never coul'd be paralell'd but in the Present Emperor. He never had any Flesh Meat serv'd to his Table, he stinted himself to Rice, Spoon Dyets, and a few Sweetmeats. He was always a Lover of Learning, and encourag'd it. His greatest Pleasure was that of entertaining Strangers, and informing himself of the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the *Europeans*. As to the History of his Country and particularly that of his own Reign, he caus'd it to be written carefully, and had it read over to him according to the Custom of the Eastern Kings.

The Buildings he erected, and the Improvements made by him in several Parts of the Empire will be eternal Monuments of his Glory. His Way of making War was either by surprising his Enemy at an advantage, or fighting him valiantly when his Stratagems fail'd. 'Twas by both these Means that he extended the Limits of his Empire so far. Undoubtedly had the *Portuguese*, secret Abettors of *Mustapha*, not stopped the Progress of his Arms, he'd have extended his Conquests to the Cape of *Comorin*. In fine, to say all in a Word, he deserv'd the Name of *Akebar*

that is to say *Nompareill*, which his People had given him in the Beginning of his Reign.

Jehan-Guir.

IT'S a Dispute to this Day in the *Indies*, whether *Cha-Selim*, that is to say, the *Peaceful King*, who afterwards took the Name of *Jehan-Guir*, that is to say, *Soveraign of the World*, was a Lawful King or a Usurper. Some Historians pretend that *Akebar* his Father a few Days before his Death, had declar'd him his Successor to the Empire, that he had set the Royal Tourban on his Head, and girded him with the Sword of *Amayum*. Others, on the contrary write that *Jehan-Guir* (for so we shall always call the Successor of *Akebar*) had been disinherited by his Father as a Rebel, and *Sultan Cosrou* his Son declar'd Successor by the Emperors last Will in *Jehan-Guir's* Place. Be it how it will, it's certain these Reports gave *Cosrou* an Occasion, or at least a Pretence for revolting against his Father.

The Emperor, whose Life we write, had none of the good Qualities of *Akebar*, except his Affection for the Christians. We may say too, that he had none of the requisite Dispositions for embracing Christianity. He was a Voluptuous Prince, who had spent the greatest Part of his Life in the Delights of a *Seraglio*, and given himself up to a kind of Drunkeness, and Debauch, that favor'd of the Brute. *Jehan-Guir* had conceal'd some Part of his Failings during his Fathers Life time, but when once a boundless Power of doing what he pleased had given a boundless Swing to

his Desire, he kept no kind of Measure in his disorderly Way of Living. What made him esteem the Christian Religion above all others, was Liberty it allows of drinking Wine, and eating generally of all Sorts of Meats. He consider'd it by this Circumstance only, without diving into the Reasonabless of it, or perceiving that the Spirit of Repentance, Humility, Charity, and Temperance, is as it were the Soul of this holy Institution. From the Power of this mean Prejudice, he declar'd himself highly for the Christians, and violated the Law of *Mahomet.* He drank Wine in the Face of the Court. The Months fast which the *Mahometans* observe religiously was the Object of his Scorn. He tempted the most scrupulous to come and fuddle with him and eat of forbidden Meats. In vain did the *Casi* and the *Imans*, Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, remonstrate that the Use of certain Meats was forbidden by the *Alcoran.* Teaz'd with their Admonitions, he desir'd to know in what Religion was the Use of all Liquors, and all kind of Eatables allow'd without Distinction. Answer was made him, that his Liberty was allowed by the Christian Religion alone. Let's turn Christians then says he. Let Taylors be sent for, we'll change our Tunicks into short Coats, and our Tourbans for Hats. At these Words the Doctors trembl'd for their Sect. Interest and Fear made 'em alter their Language. They unanimously decided that the Precepts of the *Alcoran*, did not extend to Crown'd Heads, and as for the Prince, he might without Scruple, make use of what Meats and what Liquors he liked best.

This so apparent a Prevarication drew on the

Doctors a greater measure of the Emperors Contempt and Indignation. He thought he might take the advantage of the Weakness of these false Pastors to insult their Religion as much as he pleased. In this thought he order'd little Golden Images to be cast, with which he adorn'd his Apartments; and to break the Hearts of his Doctors, he caus'd the Figures of wild *Bores*, which the *Mahometans* of all living Creatures abhor most, to be cast in all their natural Postures. A Governor of *Lahor*, whose Name was *Amanet*-*Chan*, a great Friend to our Religion, has told some *Europeans*, that he was present at the Decision of the *Mahometan* Doctors in Favor of the Prince, and that he knew the Place, where the Statues of these *Bores* lye buried at this Day. He added, that Man wou'd be but too Rich who had the Liberty to dig up so vast a Treasure.

The Night was generally the Time of the King's Debauches with his Friends. He order'd that the Entrance of his Palace shou'd be free to all the *Frangius* of *Agra*, that is to say, *Europeans of what Nation soever*. He drank with 'em till Day Light, particularly at the Times that the Mahometans fasted with the greatest Exactness. When any scrupulous Person of his own Nation hapned to be bye at these Assemblies, he obliged him to break his Fast, or threaten'd to throw him to a *Lyons*, a brace of which were always kept Chain'd under the Windows of his Apartments. His greatest Pleasure was that of trying the Courage of such *Persians* as were but newly arriv'd at Court. He commonly wore at his Girdle a sharp *Stilletto*, with which he pierced the Ear of the New-comer at a time when he least Dreamt of Matter. By his Screams, or by his Silence, that's

to say by his impatience, or by his generous manner of bearing Pain, he judg'd of the Courage of the Man, and by this Rule alone distributed his Favours. The Truth is, *Jehan-Guir*, generally speaking hated all *Mahometans* and endeavour'd by the worst treatment to banish 'em his Court. Accordingly in all Disputes between the *Jesuits* and the *Moulas*, the Prince adjudg'd the Victory to the Gospel.

The *Indian* Historians make mention of a very uncommon Occurrence, which gave a deal of Reputation to the Religion of *Jesus Christ* at the Court of *Jehan-Guir*. Our European Writers, Attribute it to Father *Rodolphus Aquaviva*, and pretend that it happen'd in the Reign of *Akebar*. The Circumstances of this Fact are somewhat Vary'd in the Relations of both Sides. But I shall choose to follow the Tradition of *Asia*.

One Day *Jehan-Guir*, say they, summon'd to his Palace the Doctors of his own Sect of one Side, and P. *D'acosta* of the other. He order'd the *Missionary* to propose to the *Mahometans* the strongest Arguments he cou'd against the *Alcoran*. The *Jesuit* did so, in a manner that pleas'd Emperor and confounded the *Moulas*. One among them somewhat hardier than the rest alledg'd in a reproaching way, that the Books of Scripture had been corrupted, and that there was not the least Air of Truth in 'em. Whereupon Father *Joseph D'acosta* then Superior of his Company at *Agra*, made a strange Proposition to the *Moula*, who was consider'd in the *Indies* as an Oracle of the Law. Let a Fire be kindled, says he, and let the Head of the *Mahometans* Walk into it with the *Alcoran* under his Arm of one Side, whilst I with the Gospel in my Hand

throw my self into it on the other side. Hereby 'twill appear which of the two *Heaven* declares it self in Favour of, *Jesus Christ*, or *Mahomet*. At these Words the Emperor cast his Eyes towards the *Mahometan*, who seem'd already in a kind of Consternation, for fear of the King shou'd accept the Offer. He took pitty of the *Moula*, and wou'd not impose on him so dangerous a Tryal. For the *Jesuits* part, the Emperor made him change his Name, and ever afterwards call'd him Father *Alaxe*, that is to say the *Father of Fire*.

Though God was not pleased to permit *Jehan-Guir's* being Witness of a Miracle, which perhaps was refus'd to the hardness of his Heart, and the Corruption of the Manners; he however permitted him to be a Spectator of another very extraordinary Event. I should hardly mention it, if I were not warranted by the Credit of an Author † who has not hitherto been look'd on as over-credulous or a Visionary. A certain *Mountebank* had a *Monky* of a surprising Sagacity in finding things that were hid industriously. The Emperor who wou'd needs have his *Monky* brought before him, hid his *Signet* in the Vest of one of his Pages. The *Monky* singl'd out the Page in the Crow'd, and snatch'd the *Signet* from him. He made a Second Tryal, he order'd the Names of Twelve prinicipal *Legislators*, of *Moses*, *Jesus Christ*, *Mahomet*, *Brama*, and in fine, others that are honour'd in the *Indies*, to be Written down in twelve several pieces of Paper. The Papers were mix'd in an *Urn*, and the *Monkey* commanded to draw the Name of him who was Author of the True Religion. The *Monkey* hit Right, and drew the Name of *Jesus Christ*. The Emperor was Asto-

† *The Rowe*

nish'd, but not convinc'd. He attributed it to chance, or seme cunning Contrivance of the *Mountebank*. He therefore order'd the Names of the *Legislators* to be Written down a Second time in the *Cypher* which he made use of for sending Instructions to His Ambassadors. The *Monkey* once more drew the Name of the God of the *Christians*, and Kiss'd it. The susprise was much greater upon this Second Accident; but it changed into Admiration upon a Third Experiment. The King privately convey'd the Name of *Jesus Christ* into the Hands of one of his Courtiers, and mix'd the other Eleven in the *Urn*. The *Monkey* turn'd 'em over one by one, but wou'd not draw. Afterwards approaching the Courtier to whom the Name of *Jesus Christ* was given, he wrested open his fingers and snatch'd the Paper: People may believe what they please of the Miracle; but as to the Fact (says the Protestant Author of whom I borrow it,) it's Incontestable.

Faith is a Gift from Heaven, and the Almighty bestows it to whom he Pleases. He refus'd it to *Jehan-Guir*. Not but the Prince esteem'd *Christianity* more than any other Religion; but the Knowledge he had of it, did but serve to aggravate his Guilt. 'Tis true, he permitted Two of his Nephews to be instructed in the Faith and to profess it. Some say he did this out of politick Design, that he might have a fair pretence for destroying, when he thought fit, young Princes of a different Religion from his own. Others assure us, he acted thus from Motives of Debauchery, and in hopes that his *Seraglio* wou'd be fill'd with *Portuguese* Women, as soon as it shou'd once be known at *Goa*, that he was well inclin'd to *Christianity*. However it be, 'tis certain *Jehan-*

Guir liv'd all his Days without any Religion, a great Enemy of the *Mahometans*, and alway seemingly inclin'd to the Doctrines of *Jesus Christ*.

The exeissive Heats of *Indoustan* oblig'd the Emperor to change his Abode from *Agra*. He consider'd that Capital as the Work of his Father. The Desire of erecting a Monument for himself, made him prefer *Lahor*.

It lies much more Northward than *Agra*; its Exposition is healthier and the Climate more temperate. Some Historians say, that 'twas *Akebar* planted those fine Rows of Trees which reach from *Agra* to *Lahor*, and other assure us, that Work is owing to *Jehan-Guir*. It's more probable that the Father begun, and that the Son carry'd on and finish'd that Work. As for *Lahor* it became under *Jehan-Guir* the ordinary Residence of the Court. That Emperor enlarg'd its Compass, and built him a Palace in it, which indeed has nothing of the Magnificence of that of *Agra*; but take it altogether is more convenient and more Healthy. One Day as the Emperor was walking on a Terras, which commands the River, he perceiv'd a Barge of six Oars rowing towards him. A Lady whose Beauty surpris'd him was seated in it under a Canopy in the Nature of a Pallanquin. It's likely *Nur-Mahal*, so the Lady was call'd, had no Design in shewing her self to the Emperor; but 'tis certain the Sight of her made an Impression on him which lasted as long as his Life. *Jehan-Guir* inform'd himself of the Name and abode of the Beauty. Presents were quikly made and followed by far greater Offers. But the Vertue of *Nur-Mahal* was Proof against Temptation. She let the Emperor know that her Husband was Living, that he had the

Honour to be in his Majesties Service, that he commanded 500 Men in a Fronteer Town towards *Bengale*, and that she hop'd to preserve an inviolable Fidelity for him during his Life. This Answer put the Emperor upon a very cruel Resolution. He Writ to *Chir-Afgam*, which was the Husbands Name, to go and receive his Orders from the Governor of the Province. At the same time he sent Orders to the Governor to put *Chir-Afgam* to Death, the Moment he shou'd appear in his Presence. The Princes Orders were executed, but not without the spilling of more Blood. The brave Captain sold his Life at a dear rate and Kill'd several of his Assassins before they cou'd execute their Design. *Jehan-Guir* made no further doubt, but that by the Murder of the Husband he shou'd easily become Master of the Wife.

He was surpris'd to find in *Nur-Mahal* all the Resistance that cou'd be expected from a Woman transported to the heigth of Rage. Whether 'twas Artifice, or a real Resentment, the Widow spoke no more of the Emperor, but in Terms of Scorn and Revenge. However, after the first Year of her Widowhood, she made use of all those Advantages of Liberty, which the Death of a Husband procur'd for drawing a croud of Visitors about her. *Jehan-Guir* who Lov'd a free Conversation, paid her constant Visits in Diguise; afterwards declaring his Name and Passion, he offer'd her a Place in the *Seraglio*, and to make her one of his Wives. The sly Widow play'd over all the Appearances of Virtue, and even demonstrations of hatred to whet the Emperors Passion. At length, when she had work'd him to a pitch, in which 'twas

impossible for him to refuse her any thing, she consented to come into the *Seraglio* upon the following Conditions; I. that she should be first Queen; II. That her Father shou'd have the Charge of *Etmadulet*, or first Minister; III. That her Brothers and other Relations, shou'd be preferr'd to the next great Places at Court. The Emperor consented to all, and celebrated the new Queens Arrival at the Palace, by a Festival which lasted Eight Days. The Name of *Nur-Mahal* was too vulgar for a favorite Queen, 'twas chang'd into that of *Nur-Jaham*, that is to say, the *Light of the World*.

The Emperor indulged this new Passion to such a degree, that it soon took Place of all others; And yet *Nur-Jeham* was a Woman of mean Condition. Born in *Persia*, she follow'd her Husband, then a Camel driver in the Service of some *Armenian* Merchants. She arriv'd at the *Indies* in Poor Circumstances enough along with *Chir-Afgam*, who afterwards advanc'd his Fortune in the *Mogols* Armies. If her Birth was obscure, her Beauty was very uncommon, and her Wit of a superior Strain. In fine, it may be said she was worthy of the Empire to which Fortune had rais'd her.

When she found her self at the Palace in full Possession of the Heart of her Husband, the first thing she took care of was to banish, or contrive to have all her Rivals Poisn'd. 'Twas ground enough of Suspicion, that Five Queens the most tenderly belov'd by *Jehan-Guir*, dyed all in one Year. It's even said, that this ambitious Woman strain'd her Credit with the Emperor so far, as to be allowed to Coyn Money in her own Name, contrary to the Custom of the *Sultanesses*. The Impression which she order'd to be stamp'd was

that of the Twelve Signs of the *Zodiaque*. There's some of this Money to be seen in the *Indies* to this Day, and some pieces of it have been brought into *Europe*. It is however most certain, whatever the Relations of our Travellers tells us to the contrary, that the famous pieces of Gold and Silver stamp'd with the Twelve Signs of the *Zodiaque*, do not carry the Name of *Nur*-Jaham but that of Jehan-*Guir*. The *Sultaness* might probably have order'd 'em to be Coin'd, but had not the boldness to have her Name struck upon 'em.

Nothing was more astonishing in the *Indies* than the Power which *Nur*-Jaham had gain'd over the Mind of Jehan-*Guir*. She insensibly wean'd the Emperor from the Passion he had for Wine; she brought his Debauches within some kind of Rule, and prevail'd with him not to drink above Nine Glasses at a sitting. This was sometimes a Subject of dispute between the Emperor and the *Sultaness*, but *Nur*-Jaham had always the better. No Woman ever better knew than she how to secure a Heart, over which she had once got an Ascendant. The industrious *Persian* found out a Hundred ways of endearing her Spouse; and to prevent his breaking loose from her, she continually entertain'd him with variety of new Pleasures in which she her self cou'd partake. The little quarrels occassion'd sometimes about Trifles, did but inflame their Love. Jehan-*Guir's* Intemperate Passion for Wine was the only thing that bred a difference. One Day as he was in all his Jollity amidst his Musicians and Dancers, he exceeded his stint of Nine Glasses, *Nur*-Jaham fell into a Passion and chid him. The Emperor took no Notice, but carry'd

on the humour to Drunkenness. Next Day the *Sultaness* resolv'd to make her Advantage of the Condition that *Jehan*-*Guir* had been in the Night before. She shut her self up in her Apartment, and wou'd be seen by no Body at the usual Hours. Never was uneasiness like that of *Jehan*-*Guir*; he courted the *Sultaness* in the earnestest manner, and cou'd not rest, till he had appeas'd her. The Queen exacted a Submission from him, very Extraordinary for the *Mogol*-Haughtiness. She threaten'd never to restore him her Favour till she saw on his Knees humbly ask Pardon for his want of Complaisance. The Emperor was in suspence for sometime between the *Decorum* of his high Diginty, and the unworthy Passion which tyranized him. At last, by the Advice of one of the old Governantes, who watch over the conduct of the Queens, he took the following Resolution.

One day as the *Sultaness* was walking in the Palace Gardens, shaded from the Sun by an Umbrella, the Emperor took his time to step in alone, and looking for some Shade, the old *Duena* told him, he might sit at the Queens Feet and take the benefit of her Umbrella. In this State of Humiliation, which look'd as if he only consulted his Convenience, The Emperor found a *Medium* to be reconcil'd to *Nur-Jaham*. He made her Protestations of a blind Obedience for the future, and was receiv'd into Favor.

The Queen receiv'd the Submissions of the Emperor with Joy, and as a proof of it, made an Entertainment for her Husband which lasted Eight Days. She omitted not one of the Diversions that are us'd in those Countries which afford the perfectest Delights. Magnificent Banquets one Day; Comedies another, intermixt with

those sort of Dances which represent human Life by Gestures. The *Indians* Excel in this Way. At other times they had Consorts after the manner of the Country. On *Europeans* are not easily reconcil'd to these Consorts, but in time they find in 'em a Harmony and something I know not what of Sublime, which is not perceivable in our *European* Musick. At other times they had Fire Works wherein the *Indians* far excel us in *Europe*. The pleasantest Entertainment of all, was walking on the Banks of a small *Canal*, which *Nur-Jaham* had caus'd to be fill'd with *Rose-Water*. They Bath'd themselves in the perfum'd Waters. *Roses* which are extraordinary common in the *Indies*, were then raised to an excessive Price. This Magnificence of the *Sultaness*, was the Occasion of a rare Discovery, and a very agreeable one in a Country where Perfumes are much admir'd. As the Emperor was walking with *Nur-Jeham* by the side of a *Canal*, they perceiv'd somewhat like a Froath rise upon the surface of the Water, and float towards the Banks of the *Canal*. They stop'd to take it up, and found it to be the substance of *Roses* collected and baked into a Consistence by the Rays of the Sun. It seem'd to all the Court the delicatest Perfume which the *Indies* afford. They afterwards endeavor'd to imitate that by Art, which was originally the production of Nature.

The Authority of *Nur-Jaham* increas'd dayly and arriv'd at last at such a Pitch that none cou'd pretend to Ballance it. Secure of her Husband, nothing less wou'd serve her turn than Allyances which mingled her Blood with that of the Emperors. The *Sultaness* had but one Daughter by her former Husband; for she had no Children by

Jehan-Guir. The Establishment of that Daughter was, what created the greatest Dissentions in the Royal Family, and occasion'd so many Wars and Rebellions.

The Emperor had Four Sons by several Wives. The Eddest, Born in the Life-time of *Akebar* his Grandfather, was the *Sultan Cosrou* ? The Second *Sultan Pervis*, a good natur'd peaceful Prince, who was sent to Govern the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and had Liv'd so long in Peace, that several Historians had never heard of his Name. The Third was *Sultan-Chorrom*, a Prince of great hopes, who found a Way afterwards of fixing himself on the Throne by the Exclusion of both his elder Brothers. The Fourth and last was *Sceheriar*, a Prince of little Valour and mean Capacity. *Nur-Jaham's* Design was to marry her Daughter to *Sultan-Cosrou*, the presumptive Heir of the Empire; but that Prince, haughty in his Nature, and incens'd to boot, at the Ascendant of that Stranger over the Mind of his Father, refus'd to dishonour himself by so unsuitable an Allyance. Besides, he had already taken to Wife the Daughter of a *Raja*, a Princess of heroick Courage, and to whom the young *Sultan* was bound by all the Ties imaginable. *Cosrou's* Refusal of the Daughter of *Nur-Jaham* cost him dear: The Loss of Liberty, of the Crown, and that of his Life quickly follow'd his Contempt of the Sultaness and her Allyance. She cast her Eyes upon *Sceheriar* next, the youngest of the Emperors Sons. The Proposal was never made to *Pervis* for Reasons which History does not mention, and *Sultan-Chorrom* was already marry'd to the Neice of *Nur-Jaham*, the Daughter of *Asuph-Cham* her Brother.

As soon as the Marriage of the Daughter of *Nur-Jaham*, with the youngest of the Four Princes was concluded, all the Favours of the Court was heapt upon him. The Three elder Brothers, were sent into Governments remote from Court, according to the false Politicks of the Country. The Vice-Royship of *Bengale* was given ro *Pervis,* and that of *Decan* fell to *Sultan-Chorom*. The Government of *Guzurate* was design'd for the eldest of the Princes, when he took up Arms against his Soveraign. Never perhaps had Son a more specious pretence of making War with his Father then that of *Sultan Cosrou*. 'Twas to him the Kingdom was left by the appointment of *Akebar*, and the reigning Emperor had enjoy'd it only by the Toleration of *Cosrou*, and the respect that Prince had shown for him from whom he had his being. And yet that Scepter, which he already might have been possess'd of, was violently wrested from him to put it into the Hands of his youngest Brother. But the Intreagues of an Ambitious Woman was what incens'd him most of all, who to establish her own Blood upon the Throne, had violated all natural and human Rights. I am sent away, said he, to his Friends, into a Government the most remote from Court, while *Sceheriar* is kept near the Emperor my Father, only to accustom the People to acknowledge him a Successor of *Jehan-Guir*. Lets speak out, added he, since they will force us to it, and let us not suffer 'em to snatch away our Rights without complaining or disputing 'em. Surely, I shan't be thought more Criminal, in taking up Arms against *Jehan-Guir* then he in formerly rebelling against *Akebar*. If it be a fault in me, my Father set me the ex-

ample: And I have this advantage of my side, that I only renew my Claim to a Crown which has belong'd to me all along, without waiting for the Death of him who wears it. Thought's of this kind and of so much justice in appearance, made *Cosrou* resolve to enter into a War with his Father.

Jehan-Guir had for principal Ministers Two Persons to whom he had given the intire disposal of all the Affairs of his Empire. One was *Asaph-Cham* the Queens Brother; the other *Mahobet-Cham* a Man of Fortune, but of a transcendent Genius, and a greatness of Soul incapable of Corruption. Jealousy, so common between Two Rivals who share the Confidence of their Prince, had embroil'd the Two Ministers. They had openly espoused different Interests. *Asph-Cham* was naturally of the Queen his Sisters Party, and *Mahobet-Cham* declared himself for the *Sultan Cosrou*. The Faction of the *Sultaness* prevail'd *Sultan Cosrou* had receiv'd so much ill Treatment, that he was oblig'd, as I have already said, to take up Arms and put himself at the Head of the Rebels. The *Sultaness* urg'd by the Counsels of *Asaph-Cham*, resolv'd to surprise *Mahobet*, as he was going out of the Palace. She had posted a Guard to seize him in the first Court of of the *Mahal* and the Gate of the great Hall, where the Fmperor gives Audience to his People. Accordingly *Mahobet* found himself surrounded all of a sudden as he was passing that way. But having to deal with a company of *Indians* only, who still respected him as General of their Masters Armies, he easily got clear of 'em. However, the Number of his Assassins still increasing, he ran back to the Inner-gate of the *Seraglio*, forc'd the Porters, and

there met with some *Eunuchs* devoted to his Service. With this Guard he made his way into the Emperors Apartment, dispers'd the frighted Croud of Women and *Eunuchs* who surrounded him, oblig'd the Emperor whether he wou'd or no, to follow him, made him mount on his *Elephant*, and rode out of the Palace seated by *Jehan-Guir's* side, under the same Canopy. He held a naked Dagger all the time in his Hand, and let those who had been posted in the Passages by *Nur-Jaham* know, that on the least attempt to seize him, he wou'd bury it into the Princes Heart. A Resolution so unexampled stunn'd the soldiers.

Mahobet had the good Fortune, by this means to carry off the Emperor to his own House, where the Troops of which he was Chief Commander stood to their Arms about him. Thus was *Jehan-Guir* detain'd by his Minister in a kind of Durance.

The whole City was in suspence about the Emperor's Fate. The greater part believ'd that *Mahobet Cham* wou'd deliver up *Jehan*-Guir, and the Crown, into the Hands of *Sultan Cosrou*, to whom he had all along declar'd himself a Friend. But the generous M*ahobet* knew how to preserve for his Master and Banefactor, all the respect and Consideration that was due to him. He spar'd no Expence to furnish him every Day with Variety of Pleasures. But the Confinement seem'd insupportable to *Jehan*-Guir as long as the Queen was absent. M*ahobet* gave his Prisoner some Hopes that *Nur-Jaham* might come to bear him Company, if she wou'd venture to take his Word. As for other Matters, says he to the King, with an Air of

Submission and Respect which wholly remov'd his Fears; don't imagine, Sir, that I have violated the sacred Privileges of your Palace, to deliver you into the Hands of a rebellious Son. I espoused the Interest of *Sultan Cosrou* as far as my honest Advice wou'd go, and the credit which you had given me. I endeavour'd to assert his Birth-right eluded by the iniquity of a Woman. 'Twas reasonable in that conjuncture to ballance the Faction of the ambitious *Nur-Jaham*, and, 'twas toyling for your Glory to prevent it's being sullied by an unjust preference of your youngest Son, to the prejudice of the Eldest. But now that *Cosrou* has acted an impious part, and has revolted from his Father and Soveraign, I am ready to make use of the Command you have given me over your Armies to go and reduce the Rebel. Try my Fidelity, and Judge of me by the Conduct I observe with Regard to my King, whose Person is now in my Power. If I have dar'd to force you away from your Palace, be perswaded Sir, that I had no other design in it, than that of securing my own Life against the Conspiracies of *Asaph Cham*, and the Intrigues of thy imperious *Nur-Jaham*. Yes Sir, this Woman is she who lights up the Torch of Discord in your Family: 'Tis she, who banishes they Children from your Presence, who forces 'em out of your Arms inspight of you, who constrains 'em to stifle the Instincts of Nature, and take up Arms against a Father who loves 'em. Banish from your Palace that Fury, who overwhelms it with Trouble; call back thy Children to your Court; disarm 'em by your Goodness; and by this means you'll free your self from Captivity, and restore Peace to your Do-

minions. *Jehan-Guir*, perswaded by the Reasons of this Minister, and apprehending that his Imprisonment might in the Issue prove fatal to him, promis'd all; but he was of an inconstant Temper. The very Day he had appointed for dismissing the Queen, *Mahobet* ask'd him what he cou'd now think of to solace him most. the *Sultaness* and some Wine, answered the Emperor. The brave Minister refus'd him both. Wine from his religious Observation of the Laws, and the *Sultaness*, for fear she shou'd prevent his Designs of bringing the *Mogol* to Reason, which in some Measure he had already effected.

In the mean time, the Heart of this faithful Minister was melted by the Intreaties of his Master. He restor'd *Jehan-Guir* soon after to his former Liberty. But to avoid the Persecutions of *Nur-Jaham*, he took the Field, and put himself at the Head of the Imperieal Army' in order to fight *Sultan-Cosrou*, as he had promised. The War was of no long Continuance. After one decisive Battle, *Mahobet* return'd victorious, leading the Son in Chains to his Father. An Action of so much Generosity, and of such Advantage to the Affairs the Emperor and *Sultaness*, made 'em forget *Mahobet's* want of Respect to the King. The Credit of this Minister grew higher at Court, and his Enemies seem'd to forget the Suspicions they had conceiv'd of his Fidelity. 'Twas doubtless owing to the Power of his Credit, and *Jehan-Guir* spared the Life of *Sultan-Cosrou*. They contented themselves with shutting him up a Prisoner in the Citadel of *Guallier* along with his Wives and Children.

The Captive Sultan was drawing ont his Melancholy Life in Prison, when the Queen *Sultaness* made him once more a Proposal capable of tempting a Heart less constant than his. They exhorted him to purchase his Freedom by an act of Infidelity towards the Princess his Wife. They offer'd him to Divorce the Daughter of *Nur-Jaham* form *Sceheriar* a worthless Prince, and settle the Succession of the Crown upon him the Moment he marryed her. The Law of *Mahomet* not unlike in this particular to that of *Moses*, allows one Brother to Marry the Wife of another when she has no Children by the first. No Body doubted but the Captive Prince wou'd comply with the Orders of his Father, and recover the Crown, on the Condition of sharing it with the Daughter of the *Sultaness*. But they were mistaken. *Sultan Cosrou*, was not a Prince easily wrought upon, and the Affection he had for his Wife was unsurmountable.

All this while *Asaph-Cham* was carrying on an Intreague in opposition to the Intererts of the *Sultaness* his Sister. We have said that *Chorrom* the Third Son of *Jehan-Guir* had taken to Wife one of the Daughters of *Asaph-Cham*. The design of this ambitious Minister was to establish his Son in Law upon the Throne, and the Death of *Cosrou* was the most infallible way of the accomplishing it. *Asaph-Cham*, in this view, made use of some of his own Creatures, whom he had placed about the Captive Prince, to confirm him in his Resolution of rejecting the Daughter of the *Sultaness*. They spoke of that Allyance as unworthy of his Birth. They represented the Injustice of it to his Wife, a vertuous Princess. They added, that his intended Wife wou'd not fail to have her Banish'd

from him, by the Interest of her Mother: They fill'd him with religious Scruples. The Law allows, said they, to Marry the Widow of a Brother, but not the Wife of a Brother, who is still Alive. They fed him with false Stories of the Disgrace of *Nur-Jaham*, by which they made him hope that his Captivity wou'd be soon at an end, without wounding his Honour. In these Sentiments, *Cosrou* refus'd the Emperor and the *Sultaness* that mark of Complaisance which they wou'd have exacted from him. In the mean time, *Asaph-Cham*, still intent on placing his Daughter upon the Throne of the *Mogols*, had caus'd his Son in Law *Sultan Chorrom* to quit the Territories of *Decan*, and come to Court to shew himself to the People of the Capital. This Prince was naturally Ambitious; he saw no Body before him but the *Sultan Cosrou*, taken in Battel and in Arms against his King. As to the *Sultan Sceheriar*, he look'd upon him as a stupid Prince despis'd by the People, and unworthy to Reign. *Sultan Pervis*, on the other Hand, seem'd Content with his Vice-Royship of *Bengale*. Hereupon *Chorrom* enter'd into a barbarous Design of securing to himself the Throne by the Murther of his Brother All the World believed he was induc'd to commit this Crime by the Instigation of *Asaph-Cham*. For as to *Nur-Jaham* it is agreed of all Hands that she was no way concern'd in it.

About the time that *Sultan Cosrou* was basely Murther'd in his Prison, he began to give the *Sultaness* some Hopes of complying at last with her Desires, and Marrying her Daughter. At least the Princess his Wife did not cease to exhort her Husband not to give Ear any longer to his Passion for her, but come into their Measures, though

contrary to his Inclinations, for the advancing his Fortune. The Fears of *Sultan Cosrou*'s securing to himself the Throne by complying with the Orders of the Court, engag'd *Sultan Chorrom* to precipitate the Execution of his Parricide. *Asaph-Cham* had taken care to employ none in the Service of the Captive Prince, but such as were wholly devoted to his Interests, and Villains ready to Execute any thing that might advance their Fortune. *Sultan Chorroom* made use of these Tools for attempting the Life of his Brother. Orders were given for Poisoning all the Meat provided for him. The *Sultan* had some Suspicion of the Treachery, and resolv'd not to touch any thing but what the Princess his Wife had dress'd with her own Hands. As the Massacre of the Prince was hereby delay'd too long for the ambitious *Chorroms* Purpose, he gave Orders for dispatching him the shortest way. The Captain of the Fortress wherein the poor *Sultan* was a Prisoner, executed the Designs of *Chorrom* without the knowledge of the Emperor, or the *Sultaness*. He had him strangl'd with a Bow-string. I know other Historians relate the Murther of this *Sultan* after a different manner; but the account I give of it, is more generally receiv'd, and more agreeable to the Chronicle.

The Death of the presumptive Heir of the Crown, secur'd in all Appearance the Succession of Throne to his Murtherer, but the Contrivance of *Chorom*, which that Babarian had thought very secretly concerted, was discover'd by *Jehan-Guir* and the *Sultaness*. The Emperors Love for this unnatural Son, was chang'd into a pefect Hartred. *Asaph-Cham* himself, notwithstanding the Queen his Sisters Protection, was like to lose

his Favor at Court. The Parricide was sent back to his Government.

Cosrou left behind him one Son, Heir to all the Virtues of his Father, whose Name was *Bolaqui*, a Prince about Seventeen Years of Age. His Countenance had a mixture of the *Mogol* fierceness, which he took from his Father, and the *Indian* sweetness of his Mother. As he had been bred up with that unhappy and Captive Prince, he had Learn'd of him those Virtues which are never wanting to the Great in the time of their Adversity. He was Gentle, Affable, Generous, somewhat Mistrustful, but knew how to correct by his good Sense, the Suspitions which the Misfortunes of his Family, had accustom'd him to have of all about him. With these dispositions of Virtue, *Bolaqui* quickly became the darling of the Court. The *Sultaness* her self declar'd in his Favor, and as he represented the Person of the eldest Son of the Emperor, the People began to look on him as the Successor of *Jehan-Guir*. *Asaph-Cham* alone, in concert with his Daughter, was contriving how to make away the Son, after having strangled the Father. In the mean time, *Bolaqui* Liv'd secure at Court under the Protection of the Emperor and *Sultaness*, and under the Tuition of *Mahobet-Cham*, still inseperable from his Duty, and who never during his Ministry took any part but that of Justice.

While Sultan *Chorrom* remanded to *Decan* was wholly busied in making himself Creatures in the *Indies*, and strengthening his Interest by secret Treaties with the *Rajas* his Neighbors; the Emperor thought only of enjoying that shadow of Peace which was left in his Dominions. We have already said, that he loved to converse fa-

miliarly with his People. There are some Instances of his Familiarities this way, which wou'd be thought extraordinary, even in the western Parts of the World, where Kings are much more tractable than in the East. 'Tis said he went one Evening into a Tavern in Disguise, (for Taverns ever since the Reign of *Akebar* had been allow'd in the Capital,) and sat him down by an honest Tradesman, who was taking his Bottle Jollyly, and had drank himself into a Humor of Singing. *Jehan-Guir* was overojoy'd to find himself in so good Company. They struck up an Acquaintance immediately, and the Tradesman was highly delighted at the generosity of his new Companion, who paid the whole Reckoning, and made him drink plentifully. In their Cups they talk'd of State Affairs; murmur'd at the Emperors Weakness, in suffering himself to be rid by a Woman, and permitting his Second Son to put his Eldest to Death. They parted very good Friends, and promised to meet one another often in the same Place. The Emperor ask'd the Tradesman what his Profession was, where he Liv'd, and what his Name might be? My Name's *Secander*, says he, I'm a Weaver by Trade, and Live in such a part of the Town which he describ'd. Honest Fellow, says the Emperor, I'll come and Dine with you to Morrow, we'll improve our Acquaintance, and Swear a perpetual Friendship. The Two Tôpers parted very well satisfy'd with one another, and each impatiently expected the next Days meeting. Some Hours after Sun-rise, about the time that the common people usually dine, the Emperor Rode out of the Palace in as great State as ever he used to do at *Lahor*. He was surrounded by all his Guards.

Twenty *Elephants* marching before, with their Magnificent Harnesses of Crimson Velvet, adorn'd with large Gold Buckles. *Jehan-Guir* himself was mounted hn his State *Elephant*, seated on a Throne which sparkled all over with precious Stones; in his Equipage he order'd 'em to take their way towards that part of the Town where the Weavers Liv'd. All the Horse and the *Elephants* march'd by *Secanders* Shop; But he being busy about getting Dinner ready for his Friend, wou'd not stir from his Kitchin to see this royal Pomp. While all the People were standing at their Doors, or crouding in the Street, one of the Kings Guards, ask'd for *Secanders* House. The Weaver, hearing himself Nam'd came into his Shop, holding a ladle in his Hand with which he had just then been stirring his Rice, I am *Secander*, says he, and you'll hardly find better Linnen in *Lahor* than I can shew you. You keep a good House too, says the Soldier, and the Emperor is come to Dine with you, according to his Promise Yesterday: *Secander* cou'd then make no doubt, but it was the Emperor he had drank with the Night before. But the seditious Discourse he had held with *Jehan-Guir* in their Cups, coming into his Mind, the Poor Man thought himself undone. In the mean time the Emperor came into the Shop, and as soon as *Secander* knew him, I wish, cry'd he, that they who trust themselves with drunkards had a good stroak of his ladle over the Pate! The King understood the Weavers meaning and Laugh'd. He tasted some of the good Mans Wine, and bestow'd on him a Place at Court considerable enough to make him give over his Trade.

To enjoy the Pleasures of Peace in more Per-

fection, *Jehan-Guir* went often to pass the Summer in the Kingdom of *Cachemire.* 'Tis the most Northern Country of the *Mogols* Dominions, Scituate at the Foot of Mount *Caucasus.* *Cachemire* is indeed but one large Vally surrounded with Mountains. Some pretend that the River *Indus* takes its Source there, but 'tis a Mistake not follow'd by any *Geographer.* Its True that a great many *Rivulets* rising in *Cachemire* run into the *Indus,* by which this River exceedingly swell'd becomes Navigable, and after having bestow'd Plenty and Fruitfulness on several vast Countries discharges it self at last into the Ocean.

The Kingdom of *Cachemire* passes for the Terrestrial Paradice of the *Indies.* There are not indeed many Countries in the World, where the Air is more Temperate, more Healthy, and where all the Blessings of Life are afforded in greater Plenty. When People pass the Mountains which separate *Indoustan* from *Cachemire,* it looks as if they were transported of a suddain from the most scorching Clymats of *Asia,* into the most Temperate Countries of *Europe.* Neither the same Trees, nor the same Fruits are to be seen there as in the *Indies,* but ours of *France,* as Pear, Apple, Appricock-trees *&c.* The very People who Inhabit that delightful Country, have nothing of the Effeminacy and Sloathfulness of the *Indians.* They are robust and laborious, exercis'd in tilling their Lands, and very brave in War. There's an old Tradition, that those *Jews* who were led Captive by *Salamanazar* settl'd at *Cachemire,* and that the People of that Country are the Descendants of those *Jews.* 'Tis Certain though we find no Remains at *Cachemire* of the Jewish Religion, the People there being all either

Gentiles or Mahometans, that there are several Foopsteps of a Race descended the *Israelites*. The Air of the Face, and the looks of the present Inhabitants, have something of what's peculiar to the *Jews*, and which distinguishes 'em from all other People. *Moses* is a very common Name there; and some Antient Monuments, still to be seen, discover 'em to be a People come out of *Israel*. For Instance, the Ruins of an Edifice built on a high Mountain is call'd at this Day the Throne of *Solomon*.

This was the lovly Country where *Jehan-Guir* seldom fail'd to go and pass the Sultry Season of the Year. He priz'd *Cachemire* so highly, that he had rather, he said, loose all the rest of his Dominions than that one Country. The *Mogol* and the *Sultaness Nur-Jaham* have fill'd *Cachemire* with Monuments of their Greatness. *Jehan-Guir* built him a Palace there, more a Seat of Pleasure than Magnificence. The Gardens which are cut thro' with Canals and Embellish'd with Water-works, have somewhat in 'em more charming, than is any where else to be found. As to the *Sultaness*, her greatest Pleasure here was stocking the Canals with tame Fish. The old ones to this Day wear Gold Rings, which this Queen had fastened to 'em.

The fine Walks of *Cachemire* were the greatest part of *Jehan-Guir's* Diversion, during the Summer Quarter; but in the Winter Season, which the continual Rains render very Unpleasant in the *Indies*, he studyed the properest Amusements within Doors in his Palace of *Lahor*. One of the pretiest of 'em was a kind of Fair, which was kept for Eight Days in one of the Galleries of the *Seraglio*. Shops were formally open'd in it, and the Ladies of the principal *Omhras*, or great

Lords of the Empire did the Office of Exchange Women. Seated on their Compters, and dress'd out with all the Art of the Asiatick Women; some sold the richest Gold Brocades; some Pearls or Diamonds; others *European* Curiosities. The Emperor, the *Sultans* his Sons, the Queen, and their Daughters were the only Customers. They went round from Shop to Shop, they view'd the Goods, chaffer'd about the Price, they huff'd, they said smart things to one another, and the King paid a rate higher or lower, according as they shew'd more or less Wit in those kind of Scuffles, or the Pleasure they gave the Court. This Festival, which the Women passionately wish for, is not very wellcome to the *Omhras*. Jealousie so inseparable from the *Mahometans*, kept 'em in continual Alarms, during the time of this Diversion at the Palace. But Patience was the only Remedy. The Emperor was obey'd in that particular, as well as in all other Matters.

The Tranquility which *Jehan-Guir* enjoy'd, was sometimes disturb'd by Foreign and Intestine Wars. *Scha-Abas* King of *Persia*, whose Name and Fame with never Dye among his own People demanded the Town of *Kandahar* which *Amayum* had promis'd to surrender to the *Persian*, when by his Assistance he had been Establish'd on his Throne. *Amayum* did not keep his Word. *Akebar* knew how to maintain himself in the Possession of so noble a Country; but *Jehan-Guir* was forc'd to pay his Grandfathers Debt. The *Persians* laid Seige to *Kandahar*. The Governor of that important Frontier of the *Mogols* on the side of *Persia*, gave notice to the Court of the Irruption of the *Persians*, and the Seige he was thereaten'd with. Orders were sent to *Siahan-Cham* Vice-Roy

of *Multan*, to March immediately to the Relief of the beseiged; but there were neither Troops nor Arms in Readiness; the Peaceful *Jehan*-Guir had taken no care to provide his Frontiers. Mean time Town and Cittadel were batter'd Day and Night. The Seige had lasted already Six Months when the Emperor desparing to save it, sent Orders to the Governor to deliver up the Place in a way of Restitution, rather than as a Town taken by Force of Arms. The Governor who receiv'd *Jehan*-*Guirs* Letter believ'd it to be a Counterfeit, nor did he Surrender till the last Extremity, and till one of the *Bastions* was blown up by a Mine of the Beseigers. *Scha-Abas* wou'd have push'd his Conquests further, if the Numerous Army which the *Mogol* March'd to the Frontiers of *Persia*, had not stopt his Career, and oblig'd him to return to *Hispaham*.

The State was brought into yet a greater Distress by the Revolt of *Chorrom*. The ambitious Prince, Banish'd into his Government of *Guzurate*, had Notice given him by *Asaph-Cham* his Father in Law, that the Emperor design'd to remove to *Lahor* the Treasure of the Empire, which was kept in the Fortress of *Agra*. In Effect, *Asaph-Cham* himself had Orders to Transport the Treasure thither. He was ready to deliver it to his Daughters Husband, if the *Sultan* had made hast, and presented himself with an Army upon the Road, wich leads from one of these Capitals to the other. To be possess'd of the Treasure was a sure way for the Prince to get Possession of the Crown, even in his Fathers Life-time. Accordingly *Chorrom*, without loss of time, assembled all the Creatures he had gain'd in the vast Countries committed to his Government, by

the false Policy of *Jehan-Guir*. He has dispos'd of Employments all along, and distributed Lands without consulting the Court, so that it was no hard matter for the Prince to find numbers enough devoted to his Service, to compose a fomidable Army. He set forward at the Head of Three Score Thousand Men, and in a few Days arriv'd at *Fetipur*, within about Twenty Leagues of *Agra*. The *Eunuch*, who had the Charge of the Kings Treasures, prudently consider'd, that it was not proper to trust 'em in the Hands of the Father-in-Law of *Sultan-Chorrom*, and thereby expose 'em to the Pillage of a Rebel Prince. He gave the Court Notice of the March of *Chorrom*, and sent back *Asaph-Cham* without the Treasure. This News oblig'd *Jehan-Guir* to go in person to *Agra*, to prevent the Designs of his Son. He found the Town plunder'd by the Rebel Troops, and the Palaces of the greatest Lords pillaged; but as the Fortress hapned to be in loyal Hands the Treasure of the Empire escap'd.

This Declaration of *Sultan-Chorroms* Rebellion was now too Publick to stop here. He was under the necessity of carrying on an open War, and making Head against the numerous Armies, which *Jehan-Guir* was sending against him, under the Conduct of the brave *Mahobet-Cham*. Even *Sultan Pervis* quitted the repose of his Government of *Bengal*, and March'd at the Head of his Troops to Assist his Father against an undutiful Brother.

No Body imagin'd at that time, that there was the least Motive of Self-interest at the bottom of this good Princes Behaviour, or that he intended to open a way for himself to the Throne, by the Defeat of his Brother. Duty alone seem'd to be the whole rule of his Conduct.

Mean time *Sultan Chorrom* was incampt at some Leagues distance below *Dely*. The King's Army Strengthen'd by that of *Sultan Pervis*, advanc'd towards the Rebels. *Jehan*-*Guir* commanded in Person. The Right Wing was led by *Asaph*-*Cham*, and *Mahobet*-*Cham* had the Command of the Left, As in Civil Wars of this kind it generally happens, that there are Traytors o' both Sides, which the Commanders in Chief of the adverse Parties take care to corrupt before the Battle, the Emperor suspected the Fidelity of *Abdul*-*Cham* one of the Principal Captains of his Army. He sent him therefore some time before the Engagement, a Quiver full of Arrows by one of his Officer, to put him in mind of his Duty. The Officer, who saw upon his Arrival, that *Abdul*-*Cham* had already made a movement, in order to range himself of the Enemies Side, let fly at the Traytor one of the Arrows which the Emperor had sent him. *Abdul*-*Cham* escap'd that Danger, went over to *Sultan Chorrom*, and immediately became his principal Councellor and favorite. He commanded the first Attaque upon the Emperors Army, and forc'd his way to the very Tent of *Jehan*-*Guir*. After an obstinate dispute the Rebels were routed. *Sultan Chorrom* retir'd to inaccessible Mountains, and endeavor'd by a Negotiation to make his Peace with the Emperor.

During this Action, the young *Sultan Bolaqui* Fought under the Direction of *Mahobet*-*Cham*, and in Sight of the Emperor his Grandfather. He perform'd Wonders. Not content with having gain'd a Friutless Victory, he advanc'd at the Head of some Troops into the Heart of the Kingdom of *Gusurate*, and laid Seige to *Amadabat* the Capital, where *Chorrom* had usurpt a kind of So-

veraignty. He broke open the Gates by the help of his *Elephants*, and took Possession of the Town. The Treasures of *Sultan-Chorrom* were pillag'd, his Golden Throne dash'd in Pieces, and the Diamonds which belong'd to it distributed among the Officers. The Imperial Army reposed it self for some Days, and then took the Field to make Head against *Abdul-Cham*, who March'd with the broken Remains of *Chorroms* Troops against *Bolaqui*. The Two Armies were now in View of each other, and the Signal of Battle given, when a Pannick Fear seiz'd *Abdul-Cham's* Army. All his Infantry was cut in Peices by the Soldiers of *Bolaqui*. The *Peasants* Slew most of his Cavalry, who had dispers'd themselves in the rout into all the Villages around. As for *Abdul-Cham*, he escaped with much difficulty, by the Favour of a hard Rain, into *Surate*, from whence he repair'd with what Expeaition he cou'd to the *Sultan-Chorrom* at *Brampour*.

Jehan-Guir on his Side was disposing all things for the pursuing his rebellious Son, and forcing him in the Mountains. *Sultan-Pervis* and *Mahobet-Cham* had Orders to give him Battle, and bring him Dead or Alive to his Father. The Fierce *Chorrom* was not in the Least dismay'd. Having assembl'd an Army capable of resisting that of his Brother, he March'd forward at the Head of his Troops to meet him. The Rebels had at first the Advantage in light Skirmishes; and the assurance which some small Victories had gave 'em was the cause of their loosing a general Engagement. The Troops of *Chorrom* were intirely routed, And the Unfortunate Prince, forsaken by all his Followers, was oblig'd to Fly, to get the River *Narbda* between him

and the conqueror, and retire to *Brampour.*

He had the Two principal Officers of his Army, and his Two Favorites, still left after his Defeats, *Cham*-*Canna* and *Abdul-Cham.* The first had been always a companion of his Masters Fortunes and had all along had the Administration of his Affairs, and the Command of his Armies, without a Rival or Partner. The Second had transferr'd his Allegiance to *Chorrom* only since the War had broken out, and yet begun to get the Ascendant over the Prince. These Two Competitors whom the Favor of *Chorrom* had render'd Rivals, were always of different Opinions in Council. *Cham*-*Canna* was generally inclinable to Peace, and thought the surest way wou'd be to endeavor to mollify the Fathers Heart in Favor of the Son.

Abdul-*Cham* who dreaded the Chastisement of his Treason was Opinion to continue the War and hazard all to gain the Empire. This Differences of these Two Ministers were of fatal Consequence to *Sultan Chorrom's* Affairs. *Cham*-*Canna* took a Resolution to betray a Prince who begun to slight him. Under a pretence of negotiating a Peace between the Two Brothers, he withdrew to the *Sultan Pervis's* Quarters, and discover'd to the Commander in Chief of the Imperial Army, the miserable State to which his Master was reduc'd. He even advis'd *Pervis* and *Mahobet*-*Cham* to provide Boats for passing the River, and assur'd 'em they shou'd find the Prince utterly forsaken, and destitute of either Army or Provisions. On the other Hand, *Abdul*-*Cham* who suspected the Treachery of his Rival perswaded *Sultan*-*Chrrom* to quit *Brampour*, and seek for Refuge in the Territories of *Melck Amber*, his old Friend. This advice of *Abdul Cham*

sav'd the Prince. Not many Hours after his Departure from *Brampour*, Sultan *Pervis* appear'd there, after having passed the River; but missing his Brother, he begun by the Advice of the prudent *Mahobet*-*Cham* to suspect the Integrity of *Cham*-*Canna*, and keep a watchful Eye over him. This was the beginning of a Quarrel between, *Cham*-*Canna* and *Mahobet*-*Cham*, which had like to have ended in the Death of the greatest Minister, and the greatest Captain, that ever the *Mogol* Emperors had.

The News of the Successes of S*ultan Pervis* and the Flight of C*horrom*, were as agreeable to *Jehan*-*Guir*, as the Accounts he had from the North were afflicting. The Usbeck Tartars had pass'd their Borders, and fall'n into C*abulestan* with a Body of Thirty Thousand Horse; they had committed unheard of Ravages, and were preparing to form the Siege of C*abul*. The Capital of a fine Kingdom, wou'd have become a Prey to the Tartars, if *Zaed*-C*ham* the Son of *Mahobet*-C*ham* had not come betimes to it's Relief, and constrain'd the Enemy, weaken'd by their Losses to Retreat within their Antient Barriers. Thus the Glory of *Mohobet*-C*ham*, increas'd dayly by the Services render'd by himself, and his Children to the Empire. *Jehan*-*Guir* made use of this interval of Peace,to go and spend the Summer at C*achemire*.

The Absence of the Emperor gave S*ultan* C*horom* a favourable opportunity appearing once again, and renewing a War, which 'twas his Interest to spin out, during the Life of his Father. He enter'd therefore with an Army into the Kingdom of *Bengale*. After having plunder'd all the Towns of that rich Country, pass'd the *Ganges*, defeated in Battle *Ibrahim*-*Cham*, Deputy

Governor of the Kingdom of *Bengale*, under *Sultan-Pervis*, he march'd towards *Patna*, in hopes of surprising his brother.

But that Prince hapned to be still at *Brampour*, from whence he departed in great hast to go and defend his Provinces. As soon as *Chorrom* had Notice of the Arrival of *Pervis* at *Bengale*, he begun to distrust his own force. The Vallor of *Mahobet-Cham*, who commanded the Army under the *Sultan* his Brother, added to his Terror. He therefore had recourse to Artifice, and endeavor'd to sow Dissentions in the Imperial Army. He wrote Letters to *Cham-Canna*, which he caused to be intercepted, importing a secret Intelligence (when really there was none) between him and *Cham-Canna*. *Mohabet-Cham* was drawn into the Snare, and Judg'd it necessary to send away the Traytors Children Prisoners to the *Cittadel* of *Agra*. As for *Cham-Canna* himself, he kept him under a strict Guard.

In the meantime the Imperial Army advan'd towards *Patna*, and had already pass'd the River *Ganges*. *Chorrom* was intrench'd with the Canal of *Thonez*, a Branch of this River in his Front, and there expected his Brother, with a firm Countenance. At length *Sultan-Pervis* appear'd and encamp'd on the other side of the Canal. The first Days were spent in cannonading each other with their heavy Artillery, from Batteries raised on the opposite Banks. It must be own'd that the Emperor's Army suffer'd most, *Sultan Chorrom* having had time enough to plant his Cannon to the best Advantage. The great difficulty lay in passing the Canal, and attacking an Enemy intrench'd on the other Side of it. *Mahobet* had the good Fortune to find away for

coming at the Rebels. As he was riding along the Banks of the Canal, he hapned to see a *Peasant* Ford it over, at some Leagues distance from the Enemies Camp. He took particular Notice of the Place, pass'd over his Troops by Night without the least noise, and found himself near enough by break of Day to Attaque the Enemy. Never was there Fought a bloudier Battle in the *Indies*, nor was ever the Valour and Experience of the Generals distinguish'd more than upon this Occasion. The *Elephants* which compos'd the Vanguard of *Sultan Chorroms* Army, broke furiously into the Ranks of the Imperial Army, and put 'em in some Disorder. But the conducters of the *Elephants* not being supported, the Troops of *Pervis* had time enough to Rally. At last after a terrible Slaughter of both Sides, *Sultan Chorrom* was forc'd to fly, and carry'd off not above Three Thousand Men. The Princes overthrow was principally owing to the Cowardice and Treachery of *Abdul-Cham*, who had not Sustain'd the *Elephants* in the Heat of the Action. He was suspected of holding an Intelligence with *Mohobet-Cham*, who promised to restore him to the Emperors Favor. Be it how it will, the Battle of *Alabassen* for so it is call'd, was one of the most memorable that has happen'd in the *Indies*. 'Twas the Occasion of all those Troubles with which the old Age of the brave *Mahobet* had been afterwards exercised.

While the Emperor Triumph'd is *Bengal*, the *Sultaness Nur-Jaham* began to reflect that the War against *Sultan Chorrom*, carry'd on with so much Vigour by *Sultan Pervis*, and *Mahobet-Cham* was not consistent with the Interests of her Family. She consider'd, that after all, the Rebel-

Prince was marry'd to her Niece; that to abandon *Chorrom* to his evil Fortune wou'd be a means of estabilishing *Pervis* upon the Throne; that the great Obligations this Prince was under to *Mahobet-Cham* wou'd render that Minister too powerful and that she and all her Party must be undone, if that of *Sultan Pervis* prevailed.

In this Thought, she prevail'd with *Jehan-Guir* to send for *Cham-Canna*, the declar'd Enemy of *Mahobet-Cham* to Court, under pretence of giving an Account of his Conduct. The prisoner appear'd in the Presence of the Emperor, with all the Assurance which the protection of the *Sultaness* cou'd give him. He exaggerated the ambitions and cruel Proceedings of *Mohobet-Cham*; he set off to the best Advantage the Services he had render'd the Empire, by quitting the Service of *Chorrom* his old Master. He added that his being confin'd himself in the Camp of *Pervis*, and the sending his Children Prisoners to the Cittadel of Agra, were the only Rewards of his Fidelity to the State. He let the Emperor understand, that he himself had reason to be jealous of the Successes of *Pervis*, and the Ambition of *Mahobet-Cham*; that they both made War meerly for their own Interest, and that Duty had a less share in their Victories, than a secret Impatience of swaying every thing without Controul. After all, Sir, added he, *Sultan Chorrom* is your Son, and his pass'd Disobedience is not so much the Effect of an ill Heart, as of the indispensable necessity of rescuing his Life from the Fury of a jealous Brother, and an ambitious Minister.

This Discourse, which indeed had some Appearance of Truth, supported by the private Insinuations of *Nur-Jaham*, who incessantly Sowr'd

the Emperors Temper aganist *Mahobet-Cham*, procured an Order for recalling that General, and for his appearing at *Lahor* without delay, and without Attendance. *Pervis* shew'd no unwillingness to part with *Mahobet-Cham*. The Crafty *Cham-Canna*, had taken care to lay the Seeds of a Quarrel between these Two Generals. *Pervis* was sensible that *Mahobet-Cham* had too great a share in the Glory of his Victories. Thus this great Captain saw himself all at once thrown out of the Protection of the Emperor, and that of the *Sultan Parvis*, and expos'd to the Insults of *Nur-Jaham* his implacable Enemy, of *Asaph-Cham* his Competitor, and *Cham-Canna* his Accuser. Notwithstanding this Extremity, the brave *Mahobet* took the most moderate Course, which was that of obeying. He set out by small Journeys for Court, and by that time he had got to *Brampour*, he receiv'd fresh Orders to make more hast. So much Impatience of the Emperors Side, gave the accused just Reasons to apprehend, that there was Design against his Life. Whereupon, turning off towards *Ratampour*, a Town which the Emperor had made him a Grant of, he staid there under Pretence of settling some Affairs for the good of the State. These delays were thought a sufficient Ground at Court to Condemn him without a hearing; and get rid of him by an honourable Exile. He was commanded to return to *Bengale* in Quality of Deputy-Governor to *Sultan Pervis*, who had Orders to have an Eye over him. The News of his Disgrace, drew some Complaints from him; he wrote to the Emperor in his Justification; but no notice being taken of his Remonstrances, he once in his Life forgot himself. He Writ again to the Emperor

in an insolent Stile, that he shou'd. find a way to make his Reasons be receiv'd, and wou'd quickly go in Person to *Lahor* to confound his Slanderers. The Threats of so great a Captain, made the Court uneasy. *Nur-Jaham* alone was not the least allarm'd at 'em. Instead of keeping the King at *Agra,* where he might have been out of Danger, she perswaded him to take a Journey to *Cabul.* A bold Resolution, and which had like to have prov'd Fatal to the whole Imperial Family.

While the Court was on its Journey, *Mahobet-Cham* assembl'd some of those brave Officers, who had been of a long time accustom'd to Conquer under his Command. Five Thousand *Rageputes,* the most Resolute of all the *Indies,* had gone over to the Party of a General whom Victory had always attended. With this small Body compos'd of the choicest Men, *Mahobet-Cham* form'd the Design of attacking the Emperor in his March, making himself once more Master of his Person, and obliging him to hear his Reasons. The Design of of this great Captain succeeded to his Hearts Desire, and if he did not Reap from it all the Advantages he might have expected, 'twas more from an Excess of Generosity, and Respect for his Master, than any other Reason. In Effect, *Mahobet-Cham* surpris'd the Emperor, while his Army was passing the River *Tziunab.* The greatest part of the Troops, which serv'd for his Guard, had been transported in Boats before Sun-rise. The Emperor was still a Bed in his Tent by the Waterside, when *Mahobet-Cham* came unexpectedly and surrounded his Camp. The Court was in a Consternation upon the first News of his Arrival, the best Troops were of the other

side the River. Those of his Houshold were seiz'd with a pannick Fear and fled; thus the Emperor, the *Sultaness,* the *Sultan Bolaqui,* the *Sultan Scheriar*, as also *Asap-Cham*, and *Cham-Canna*, fell into the Hands of the generous *Mahobet-Cham*, almost without spilling a drop of Blood.

The Revolution which this detention of the whole Court occasion'd in the Empire, can scarce be imagin'd. *Agra* declar'd openly for the new Conqueror, and deliver'd up it's Cittadel to one of the Friends of *Mohabet-Cham*; and had this brave Commander been ever so little inclin'd to make an ill use of his Victory, to the prejudice of *Jehan-Guir,* whom he held in his Power, he might have set up an Emperor of his own, and chosen among the Sons or Grand-Sons of the *Mogols*, which he wou'd have plac'd on the Throne. That profound Veneration which he always had for his Master, made him use his Power with Moderation. He contented himself with doing the Duty of Captain of the Emperors Guards, whom he held in a kind of Captivity, and conducting him to *Cabul;* for any thing further he left him as much at Liberty, as if he had been guarded by Officers of his own choosing. He did not shew the same deference for all the other Princes and Lords of the Court. He sent away the *Sultans Bolaqui* and *Scheriar* Prisoners to the *Cittadel* of *Agra*. He put *Asaph-Cham* and *Cham-Canna* in Irons, and had 'em guarded under his own Eye, by a troop of his brave *Rageputes*. As for the *Sultaness*, he had the Complaisance to allow her the same Liberty as the Emperor. This Moderation had like to have cost him dear. *Nur-Jaham*, enraged to see her self in the Hands of her Enemy, and dreading that *Mahabet-Cham*

wou'd soon or late got the Ascendant over the Emperors Mind, to whom that great Man made his Court as regularly as ever, found means to surprise him in her turn, by the Troops which attended the Emperor in his Journey, and had disbanded themselves upon the coming up of *Mahobet*-*Cham*. She let the Commanders understand, that the Army which had put 'em to Flight, consisted of only Five Thousand Men; that 'twere the easiest thing imaginable to deliver the Emperor from his Captivity; that the proper time to attempt it wou'd be at the passing some River. That for her Part, she wou'd engage to keep the Emperor out of danger during the Attack, and send him out of the way, under a pretence of Hunting. What the *Sultaness* had projected was executed with great Diligence. Above Fifty Thousand Men assembl'd from all the neighbouring Provinces, took Post upon the Banks of a River whtch they were to pass, and there expected the Arrival of *Mahobet*-*Cham*. This Wise General having Notice of the Ambush prepar'd for him, came to a speedy Resolution; and thinking it best to leave the *Sultaness* and Emperor, to the Conduct of their former Guard, he turn'd back the same Road he came, took *Asaph*-*Cham* and *Cham*-*Channa* along with him, and marching strait to *Agra*, left the Emperor to proceed in his Journey to *Cabul*. In the meantime, the *Sultaness*, who not satisfied at the recovery of her own Liberty, cou'd not brook her Brothers being forc'd away from her, sent Orders to the Governors of the neighbouring Provinces, to stop *Mahobet*-*Cham* in his March, and rescue *Asaph*-*Cham* out of his Power. The generosity of *Mahobet*-*Cham* prevented the Queens Desires. He

sent back *Asaph-Cham* to the *Sultaness*, after swearing him on the *Alcoran*, that he wou'd retain a grateful Sense of the recovery of his Life and Liberty. The imperious Queen, at the Sight of her Brother, Cou'd not contain her Indignation. You are a poor spirited Man, Say She, to enter into Engagements with my most mortal Enemy. You ought at least to have waited my attempting your Deliverance, or by your Death, have filled up the iniquities of the Traytor.

While the Emperor continu'd his journey towards *Cabul*, and *Mahobet-Cham* his towards *Agra*; *Sultan Chorrom*, who had Fled into the Kingdom of *Decan* for Refuge after his last Defeat, began to peep abroad and shew himself again in the Field. His March struck a Terror into the Emperors Troops, who were not now animated by the Presence and Experience of *Mahobet-Cham*. 'Twas said, that some *Rajas* follow'd by their *Rageputes*, were gone over to the Rebel-Party. In Effect *Sultam Chorrom* advanc'd towards *Tatta* in order to Besiege it. He was soon beat off by the Sallies of the Garrision, and oblig'd to retire to *Beckar*. Upon the whole if *Sultan Chorrom* was not successful in the Wars, he undertook against his Brother, since the recalling of *Mahobet Cham*, at least *Sultan Pervis* had not the Glory always, of conquering *Sultan Chorrom*. That Prince found by Experience, that it had been better still to have shared the Glory of Victory with another, then not acquire any.

Mean time the Emperor was return'd from *Cabul* to *Lahor*. The first and principal care of the *Sultaness* was to Revenge her self of *Mahobet-Cham*, from whom she had receiv'd so many stabbing Affronts in her Journey to *Cabul*. Hear-

ing that a Convoy with Money was coming from *Bengal* to *Mahobet-Cham*, she sent Orders to have in intercepted and brought to *Lahor*. Afterwards she gave *Cham Canna*, to whom *Mahobet-Cham* had the Generosity to restore his Liberty, the Command of an Army, which that base Man accepted of with a Design of destroying his Benefactor. And now *Mahobet-Cham* found himself more forsaken by his Friends than ever. His own Son, who had ever been Faithful to him before, sided with the Court Party against him. The rest of the Troops which had follow'd him all along with so much Constancy, pillag'd his Treasures, plunder'd his Country, and then put themselves under the Emperors Obedience. To Compleat his Misfortune, *Mahobet* was inform'd that Sultan *Pervis* who had chang'd a Second time in his Favor, was newly Dead at *Bxampour*. On the other Hand the Sultans *Bolaqui* and *Scheriar* whom *Mahobet-Cham* had imprison'd at *Agra*, only as Hostages for the Security of his own Life, by making the *Sultaness* apprehend that his Death might be reveng'd by that of the Son and Grandson of the Emperor, were releas'd out of Captivity, full of Resentment against him who had been the Author of it. In this universal Desertion, *Mahobet* had only one ressource, which was to withdraw to the Court of *Rana*, one of the principal *Rajas* of the Empire, and from thence Negotiate a Treaty with Sultan *Chorrom*. Accordingly he wrote to that Prince, that if he wou'd forbear prosecuting the War against his Father, he was ready to make him a Tender of his Advice and Assistance. That *Jehan-Guir* was groun Old and Infirm; that after the Death of the Emperor, the Sultan *Bolaqui* wou'd not fail to dispute

the Crown with him, and that then perhaps he might have no reason to repent him of having engag'd in his Party, an old General, to whom a long Experience had given some Reputation among the Troops. That after having consulted Reason and Equity, it seem'd to him, that his Pretentions to the Throne were just; but that 'twere a Wickedness to make 'em take Place till after the Death of the Emperor his Father: That he wou'd willingly devote himself to his Interests, if in espousing of 'em, he shou'd not be oblig'd to lift up his Hand against his Soveraign.

This proposition of *Mahobet Cham* seem'd reasonable to *Sultan Chorrom*. He was weary of the War, and was in hopes if seconded by *Mahobet-Cham* to carry the Crown from all the Competitors. However, as he did nothing without the Advice of his Father in Law *Asaph-Cham,* he consulted him upon these Proposals of *Mahobet.* That Minister was of opinion that it was equally for *Chorrom's* Interest, to make a Peace with the Emperor, and to engage *Mahobet-Cham* in his Service. Thus by the prudent Conduct of this General, still Loyal even in Disgrace, a general Peace was restor'd to the Empire, the publick Tranquility, the Work of his own Hands, was the only Revenge he took of his Soveraign who had persecuted him.

The Emperor thought of nothing now but spending the remainder of his Days in Peace. As he began to be very Infirm, he gave Orders for transporting him to *Cachemire,* where the Air is much healthier than in the *Indies.* But restlessness so natural to old Age, and Infirmities, made him quickly abandon that sweet abode to return

to his Palace at *Lahor*. The Fateague of the Journey having increas'd the Distemper, *Jehan-Guir* departed this Life at B*imber*, in the Year 1627.

He was a Prince of an over easy Nature, who always gave the S*ultaness* and his Ministers too great a Power over him. Thence proceeded the Rebellion of his Sons and Generals. It may be said, that he lov'd Pleasure more than Glory; but yet he lov'd Justice more than his Pleasures. He administer'd it to his Subjects, with an Exactness and Impartiality, which was not known before in the *Indies*, even in the Days of *Akebar*. He encouraged Arts and had some Judgment in painting.

There were Painters in his time in the *Indies* and Natives of the Country who copy'd from our finest Pieces of *Europe* so exactly, that one must be a nice Judge to distinguish their Hand from the Original. He took great Delight in the *European* Sciences, which was perhaps the Reason of his so much esteeming the Jesuits. He caus'd a Church and a House to be built for 'em at *Lahor*. That Prince who towards the latter End of his Life, was perswaded of the Truth of our Misteries, had no other Obstacle to the Profession of 'em, but the Fear of a total Revolution in his Empire. For as to the Plurality of Wives which weds all other *Mahometans* so inseparably to their Sect, 'twou'd have been no Obstacle to the Salvation of *Jahan-Guir*, who for many Years before his Death had no other Wife but *Nur-Jaham*.

After this Emperors Death, the Empire was divided into Three several Factions. The *Sultaness* declar'd her self for *Scheriar*, her Daughters Husband. B*olaqui* had for him the Imperial

Army, and all the Guards of the Palace. But the Two Ministers *Asaph*-C*ham* and M*ahomet*-C*ham* had declar'd in Favour of S*ultan*-C*horrom*. The S*ultaness* had not Credit enough to get S*cheriar* acknowledg'd Emperor beyond the Verge of the S*eraglio*. *Bolaqui* was proclaim'd by the Army. But the Party of S*cheriar* which consisted of Women and Eunuchs soon prov'd the weaker. B*olaqui* had the good Fortune to get *Nur-Jaham* and her Son in Law into his Power. One he confin'd to a close Prison, and depriv'd the other of his Eye-Sight by the Application of a red hot Iron.

Bolaqui, who thought he had taken all this Pains only for himself, open'd by his Cruelty a Way to the Throne for S*ultan*-C*horrom* his Uncle. In Effect, an Intreague manag'd by *Mahobet*-C*ham,* and supported by *Asaph*-C*ham* put him in Possession of the Crown without Effusion of Blood. As soon as *Bolaqui* was settled on the Throne of his Grandfather by the Favour of the Army, he dispatched one of the Principal *Omhras* of his Court to his Uncle. The Envoy had Orders to demand the usual Tribute, and oblige S*ultan*-C*horrom* to do Homage to B*olaqui*. He was further instructed to make use of Threats, in case he found him refractory. The Envoy had no need of threats, or any other Way of Negotiation to obtain from S*ultan*-C*orrom* the Submission expected from him. He found the S*ultan* in a very deplorable Condition. He vomited Blood by huge Mouthfuls. This sad Spectacle softened the Envoy's Heart, who immediately dispatch'd a Courier to give B*olaqui* advice of the Extremity to which his Uncle was reduc'd. But S*ultan*-C*horrom* Distemper was all a

Counterfeit' and the Blood he vomited was the Blood of a Kid, with which he fill'd his Mouth at the Audience of the *Omhra.*

The Report of the *Sultans* Illness was quickly follow'd, by still a falser piece of News. 'Twas given out every where that *Chorrom* was Dead. In Effect, he disappear'd all of a suddain. And only *Mahobet-Cham,* with some other of the Princes most devoted Servants, were Privy to the Intreague. Those were all the Appearances of the deep'st mourning in the *Sultans* Court. *Mahobet-Cham* in particular seem'd inconsolable. In fine, the Envoy of *Bolaqui* was trick'd. He sent a positive express of the Death of *Sultan Chorrom.* He was even prevail'd with to Write to the New Emperor for Leave to Bury the deceased *Sultan* in the Sepulcher of his Fathers. *Bolaqui* joyfully granted all the Honors of Burial to a Prince of his Blood, whose Death as he thought had deliver'd him in such a critical Time. Accordingly the Funeral set out with all the Magnificene be coming a Prince of the *Mogol* Blood. The empty Coffin was conducted by above a Thousand of the chief Officers of the deceased. *Mahobet-Cham* was at the Head of 'em. *Chorrom* himself follow'd his own Coffin in Disguise; some Squadrons of *Ragepute* Horse were dispos'd at just Distances on the Road, who falling in as it were to honour the Funeral Pomp, follow'd it to *Agra. Asaph-Cham* on the other Hand, who was Privy to the Design, perswaded the young Emperor that in Decency he ought to go out and meet his Uncles Funeral and accompany a Prince to his Grave from whom he had nothing more to fear. The Artifice succeeded. *Bolaqui* with a slender Guard, went out of the Gates of *Agra* in a mourning

Habit, and with the Equipage of a Prince, who goes to pay the last Offices to a Relation. He was surpris'd to see so numerous a Convoy following a Dead Man. He suspected the Strategem, and turning upon the Heel he made a shift to escape the Cruelty of a Concurrent, who'd infallibly have depriv'd him of Life. It was not Known for a long time, whither he had betaken himself for Refuge; at last *Persia* was found to be the place of his Retreat. In the mean time the Trumpets sounded. *Sultan Chorrom* was proclaim'd Emperor, and the Hearse was chang'd into a Truimphant Chariot. *Chorrom* enter'd the Citadel of *Agra* amidst the Acclamations of the People and Army, who in one Instant turn'd all their Affections on the New Monarch. Then it was that this Prince took the Name of *Cha-Jaham*, (that is to say *King of the World;*) a Title he retain'd ever after upon the Throne, which he had gain'd by the Prudence of *Mahobet-Cham*. This was the last Exploit of this great Minister, and famous General; who after having fix'd the Crown on his Masters Head, retir'd to his Country Seat, there to end in Repose a Life so much exercis'd and so very glorious. As for the *Sultan Scheriar,* he was about Three Months after shut up in an Apartment of the Palace with Two of his Sons. *Cha-Jaham* order'd the Doors to be Wall'd up, and let 'em all Three Perish of Hunger. That Apartment has never since been open'd. Some in the *Seraglio* Fancy to this Day, that they hear dismal Groans from thence, which yet have no other Existence, than in the Imaginations of Women.

Chá-Jaham.

THE State of the Empire, at the time that *Cha-Jaham* took Possession of it, was much more flourishing than ever it had been known, under the Administration of any of the former *Mogol* Emperors. The number of Provinces which the Predcessors of *Cha-Jaham* had reduc'd to their Obedience, compos'd one of the greatest Empires of the World. From *Candahar*, which had been newly conquer'd by the *Persians*, all the Countries extending to the *Ganges*, were Subject to the *Mogol* Dominion. The Riches of the Emperors were Immense, and certainly a Detail of 'em wou'd appear altogether Incredible, if a * French Traveller whose Sincerity has never been suspected, had not given a just Account of 'em to one of our greatest Ministers. * In the mean time it must he own'd that the Government of the Mogol Emperors, how Absolute soever, was subjects to great Inconveniencies, and even at the time of *Cha-Jahams* ascending the Throne, not sufficiently estabilisht to withstand the shock of Assaults from without for any long time, or inward Revolutions.

* *M. Borrier.*

* *M. Colbert.*

The Sons of the Emperors, who commonly are many in Number, by reason of the Pluralitiy of Wives, are almost always engag'd in Wars among themselves, and the strongest or the craftiest, Study only how to get Possession of their Fathers Estates, even before Death has divested him of 'em. From these Dissentions arise Partialities very often, and Factions among the great Officers of the Crown, the ravaging the Provinces of

the Empire, and a general Oppression of the People. These Wars have likewise another Source in the Tyranny of the Court. As the *Mogols* Govern in a despotick manner, the *Rajas* who look on themselves as so many petty Soveraigns in their several Distincts, cannot without Impatience bear the Yoak, which they themselves impose on their Vassals. Thus for the most part, dissatisfied with the Emperor and his Ministers, they easily embrace the Factions that are form'd against the Court; so that when once the Fire is kindled in any Part of the Kingdom, it is no easy matter to extinguish it. The Countries of those *Rajas*, who look on themselves only as Tributaries of the Empire, are for the most Part, surrounded by inaccessible Mountains, and vast Forrests; for the *Mogols* have reduc'd to their Obedience, all the *Indian* Princes, whose Dominions were of more easy Access. The Tributary *Rajas* whose Territories interfere with the *Mogol* Empire, chearfully give Retreats to the *Malecontents,* assist 'em with Arms and Soldiers, and Sally out of their fastnesses along with 'em, to make Incursions into the Countries Subject to the Emperor. They commit Hostilities against his Subjects, they disturb Commerce, and pillage the Caravans of the Merchants.

The diversity of Religions is another Source of hatred, and consequently of Dissentions in the State. 'Twas doubtless from this Consideration, that *Akebar* and *Jehan-Guir* had form'd a Design of composing one Religion out of all those, profess'd in *Indoustan*; but they found by Experience that its more difficult to Usurp an Empire over the Cosciences of the People, and the prejudices

of Youth, than assume an Arbitrary Power, over their Lives and Estates.

From the Scituation of the *Mogol* Empire, when *Cha-Jaham* begun to Reign, 'tis reasonable to believe it wou'd have become a Prey to it's Neighbours, had it been Attaqu'd at that time. But *Persia* on the West of it, hapn'd to be govern'd by a weak Prince, who pass'd his voluptuous Life in the Shade of a *Seraglio*. The *Tartars* towards the North, once a warlike People, were no longer in a condition to make Excursions and Conquests. The Immense Collonies which had quitted *Tartary*, to Establish the Four great Empires of *Asia*, had drain'd that Country, formerly the most populous in the World. The *Mogols* had nothing to Fear from the East. The *Indians* who Inhabit the Countries beyond the *Ganges* quite away to *China*, and generally speaking a dastardly Race of People, content with their own uncultivated Grounds, and incapable of great Undertakings. The *Portuguese* indeed, and other *European* Nations, who were possess'd of the best Ports all along the Coast of *Indoustan*, were an Enemy to be fear'd on the South; but the Divisions which the Interest of Trade had bred between the *Portuguese*, the *English* and the *Dutch* weakn'd the Power of the Christian Collonies.

Cha-Jaham therefore thought he might make War advantageously against the *Portuguese*, and by his Arms Exterminate those Merchants once so Formidable in the *Indies*, but now become contemptible by their great Losses, and by the late Conquests of *English* and *Dutch*. The War against the *Portuguese* was the first Expedition the New Emperor undertook after his

Ellevation. 'Tis said, that a Zeal for Religion had some part in it, at least it's certain *Cha-Jaham* express'd as much Aversion for the *Christians*, as the Two Kings his Predecessors had had Affection for 'em. The refusal of the *Portuguese* to Assist him in the time of his Rebellion against his Father, exasperated him against *Christianity* to such a Degree, that he made a Solemn Vow to Exterminate it. That Prince after the Loss of one of his Battels, had retir'd to a Place of Strength, at some Leagues distance from *Daca*. *Mich. Roderiguez* who commanded the *Portuguese* Troops in *Ougli*, pay'd the young *Sultan* a Visit, and endeavour'd to Comfort him in his Affliction. The Prince expected some what more from the *Portuguese*, then bare Compliments of Condoleance. He let the Commander know that he expected from him a supply of Troops and Artillery, and assur'd him if ever he mounted the Throne, that he wou'd acknowledge the Services he shou'd Receive from his Country. The brave *Portuguese* answer'd in a Passion, that 'twas an infamous part to serve a Rebel; that taking up Arms against his Father was taking 'em up against God himself. *Roderiguez* did more, he join'd his Forces with those of *Sultan Pervis*. Nor were the *Portuguese* Infantry, who then Fought under the Orders of that Prince, the least cause of the frequent Victories, obtain'd by him over his Brother.

It is likewise said, that the *Sultaness Taige-Mahal* the wife of *Cha-Jaham*, contributed very much to exasperate the Emperor against the *Christians* in General, and against the *Portuguese* in Particular. The *Sultaness* had inherited from *Nur-Jaham* her Aunt, an Aversion for *Christianity*, and she thought her self injur'd by the *Portuguese*. They had given

a Retreat to Two of her Daughters, converted by the *Missionaries* to the *Christian* Religion. The hatred of the *Sultaness*, and the Emperors Solemn Oath, were Two powerful Motives with the *Mogol*, to turn his Arms against the *Portuguese*. Orders were therefore given to *Cassam-Cham* to Form the Seige of *Ougli*. That General made use of Artifice at first. After having invested the Place, with all the Forces of the Empire, he threaten'd *Roderiquez* with an intire Spoil, unless he pay'd him down a certain Summ which he specifi'd, The *Portuguese* comply'd after some time, though not without Reluctancy. The Place was unprovided of Ammunition, and the Garrision in no Condition to maintain a long Seige. The *Portuguese* had scarce made an end of satisfying the Generals first Demand, when they began to be sensible of the *Mahometan* Treachery. The town was beseig'd in Form, and batter'd with a numerous Artillery, in which Consists the greatest Stress of Seiges in *Indoustan*. The Resistance of the *Christian* was but indifferent. As soon as the Breach was wide enough, the fear of an Assault oblig'd 'em to surrender at Discretion. *Cassam-Cham* who made 'em all Prisoners of War, sent about Five or Six Hundred *Portuguese* to *Agra*, and among them some *Augustins*, and *Jesuits*. 'Twas surely Heaven incensed at the Colony of *Ougli*, that brought on it this Disaster. By ill Luck for 'em the *Ganges* which is seldom or never dry, had then so little Water, that the Transport Ships which lay in the River, and by which the *Christians* might easily have Escap'd, cou'd not possibly get out of the Harbour. They therefore were led Captive to the Capital. Several of 'em renounc'd their Religion, and em-

braced *Mahometism*, to preserve their Wives. Some of these *Portuguese* Families are to be seen at *Agra* to this Day, who have nothing of *Mahometans* beside the Name. Others ended their Lives in Torments, and finish'd their Course by a glorious Martyrdom. Not one of 'em had escap'd the Rage of *Taige-Mahal*, had she Liv'd to the Time of the Prisoners Arrival at Court. That cruel *Sultaness* had made a Vow to *Mahomet*, to have 'em all minc'd to Hawks Meat; but Providence deliver'd the *Indies* from that Monster of Ambition and Cruelty. She Dy'd lamented only by the Emperor, who ow'd the Throne to her Artifices and Interest. *Cha-Jaham* erected a Sepulcher for her, whose Magnificence has nothing equal to it in the *Indies*. A Description of it has been brought into *Europe*, where it has been admir'd as a Monument worthy the Grandeur, the good Tast, and Immense Riches of the *Mogols*. In vain did the Emperor and his Ministers endeavour to make the *Portuguese Missionaries*, taken at *Ougli*, Renounce *Jesus Christ*; they were immovable in the Faith. At length, by the Interest of an *Armenian*, who hapned to be in good Credit in Court, and of a *Venetian*, who was in the great Favor with the Emperor, they were restor'd to their Liberty, and sent back to *Goa*.

The Two preceding Emperors, were very Fond each of embellishing his own City. *Akebar* had transported the Court, from *Dely* to *Agra*, and *Jahan-Guir* from *Agra* to *Lahor*. *Cha-Jaham* brought its back from *Lahor* to *Dely*, and restor'd that antient Capital to its former Lustre. 'Tis True, old *Dely* was only as the Suburbs to the New. The New Built City bore the Name of

Cha-Jahanabad, that is to say, *the city of Cha-Jaham.*

The Expence the Emperor was at in erecting and embellishing it, is scarce conceivable. 'Tis even said, that he made the Foundation of this New City Memorable by Cruelties, till then unknown among the *Mahometans,* and which without doubt he borrow'd from the Superistition of the *Indians.* He sprinkled the Foundation with the Blood of several Criminals, whose Throats he had cut there for that purporse. He drew the outlines of it in a large Plain upon the Banks of the River *Jemna,* he open'd Eleven Gates to it. As the City was fortify'd by Twelve Towers, he left an Entrance in the middle of each Courtin. The greatest and most Magnificent of all Faces the Citadel which serves as a Palace for the Emperor, and as a *Seroglio* for his Wives. The Walls are Built of Brick, with great Row's of Free-Stone, of a reddish Colour not unlike Marble. The *Bazars* or publick Markets of *Dely* are surrounded by Arches which support noble Terrasses. There's a fine Sight of *Indian* Merchandizes to be seen in all the Shops. Tho' the Palaces of the Nobility are fine, well built, and adorn'd with Gardens, the Houses of the Citizens are for the most part but thatch'd with Reed, but the Apartments are neat and convenient. *Cha-Jaham's* principal Care was to make a couple of Gardens of an in conceivable Magnificence to his Palace of *Dely.* A *Venetian* drew the Plans of 'em, somewhat after the Model of those Magnificent Vineyards, which serve as Ornaments in Italy. As it was difficult to bring Water into 'em from the River *Gemna* for making Canals, he turn'd the Course of another

River into it, whose Bed was about Thirty Leagues distant from *Dely*. A New Channel was cut all the way, which brought it into the Emperors Gardens. These Canals were stockt with Fishes of a prodigious bigness, with Gold Rings fastned to the Snouts of 'em, and garnish'd as, is said, each with a Rubie and Two Diamonds.

'Twas in this delightful Abode, that *Cha-Caham* forgot the Martial Inclinations of his Youth, to give him self up intirely to his Pleasures. *Musick, Poetry, Dancing* and *Comedies*, had their appointed Times, and almost all the Hours of the Day were divided between 'em. None was in higher Favor with the Prince, than a Poet of the Country, whose fertile Brain continually supply'd new Pieces for the *Seraglio*, and diversify'd the Emperors Pleasures. The most Boffoon Farces pleas'd him most. However, he did not neglect the Bloody Scenes of *Gladiators,* who Fought their Prizes on Theaters erected within the Court.

He set apart certain Days of the Week for Hunting. That of the *Tygre*, how dangerous soever was notwithstanding the noblest Sport of all; the Huntsmen took care overnight to Trail the Carcasses of *Goats, Sheep,* or *Horses,* into a Neighbouring Forest, the Scent whereof drew all the *Tygers* together into one Place. Next Day about Sun Rise, the Emperor set out mounted on his *Elephant,* and enter'd the great Roads which were cut out in the Forest. Instead of Dogs they make use of Bulls train'd up to this sort of Game. They fasten the Blades of broad Swords to the But of their Horns. These Animals surround the *Tyger* at a good distance, as he is tugging at his Prey, and cast themselves into a Circle about him. The nearer they Advance, the

narrower the Circle grows; as soon as the *Tyger* perceiv's their approach, he endeavor's to save himself by Flight. The Bulls present him their Horns, and Arm'd Huntsmen ride round to prevent his escape. At last they enclose him in a very narrow Ring, form'd by the Bulls, resting upon one another Shoulder to Shoulder. And now the *Tyger* makes terrible bounds, to throw himself over the Bulls Heads; but the long Swords fastened to their Horns dismay the Creature, and sometimes stick him in the Air. If by chance he endeavors to slip away between the Bulls Legs, they present their Arm'd Horns to keep him in. Wearied at last with bounding and running round in a Circle, he falls down quite stun'd in the middle of the Ring; then the Emperor, who from a lofty Seat on his *Elephant* has the Pleasure to see the whole Combat, discharges his *Fuzee* at the *Tyger*, and Shoots him Dead.

If the Diversions of *Cha-Jaham*, had been confin'd to Huntings of this kind, they might very well have pass'd for Innocent; but the Emperor carry'd his Debauches with Women to a greater Excess than any *Mogol*, voluptuous as they are, ever did before. *Cha-Jaham* was not contented with that prodigious Multitude of Queens, of Concubins, and Slaves, (these are the Three different Orders of the *Seraglio*,) but he also forc'd away the Wives of some principal Officers of his Court. Those particularly of *Jafar-Cham*, and *Calil-Cham* gave great scandal to the Empire. They went regularly every Day to the Palace, contrary to the Custom of the Ladies of that Country. As one had her set Hours in the Forenoons, and the other in the Afternoons, the

Faquirs, who always ply in great Numbers about the Palace Gate, had matter enough from it for the bitterest Invectives.

The Love of Women render'd *Cha-Jaham* prodigal in his Expences, and Magnificent in his Apartments. 'Tis said he made a present to the Wife of *Calil-Cham* of a pair of Slippers of an Inestimable Value. He rally'd her Husband upon 'em in Publick, and his rallery cost him Dear, as we shall see hereafter. From the same principle it was that *Cha-Jaham* built and adon'd that famous Gallery, so much talk'd of in *Europe*, and which I do not give a Description of, but upon the Credit of those who were Eye Witnesses. 'Tis neither very long, nor very large, nor very lofty, but the Riches it contains, surpass all we have seen in Europe. It's Windows are all open'd of one Side, and are neither very large nor very regular. The Wall opposite to the Windows is adorn'd with so great a number of precious Stones, some of which are of inestimable Value, that a Detail of 'em wou'd seem altogether Incredible. The Wall is crusted over with *Jasper*, upon which creeps a Vine form'd of precious Stones of the largest Size. The Stock is of a kind of russet Agate, Inclining to a Box Colour. The Leaves are Emeraulds, so artificially set on, that 'tis not easy to perceive the Joinings. The Grapes which Hang in Clusters, and seem to be imboss'd are compos'd partly of Diamonds, and partly of Granats. This Work was not entirely Finish'd by *Cha-Jaham* for want of Materials. The other Side of the Gallery, in which the Windows stand, is adorn'd with Looking-glasses, of a pretty large Size, whose Borders are set at proper distances with the largest Orient Pearl.

The Clusters of precious Stones multiply'd in the Looking-Glasses, give a surprising splendor, which dazles by Day and enlightens the Gallery by Night. 'Twas talk'd at Court, that *Chà-Jaham* had design'd this magnificent Apartment, for a Woman Dancer of the very Scum of the People and of little or no Merit. Strange depravation of the Heart of Man! A Prince giving a loose to all his Desires, in a Religion which Authorises it, strives to quench the Thirst of his Incontinence in the muddyest Cisterns.

Yet *Cha-Jaham*, how deep soever he was sunk in Pleasures, did not cease to be a Lover of Justice. That Virtue seems to be Hereditary to the *Mogols*. And we may say that *Cha-Jaham* has exercis'd it with more exactness and care than any of his Predecessors. He was reputed the *Solomon* of the *Mogols*, and there are Accounts of some Judgments pronounc'd by him with so much Wisdom, that the remembrance of 'em will never be lost in the *Indies*. A Soldier had forc'd away a Female Slave from one of those who Write the Court News, and disperse it into several Quarters of the Empire. Complaint was made of it to the Emperor. The Contest was wonderfully perplex'd. The Slave grown Weary of her first Master, averr'd she had all along belong'd to the Soldier, and the Clerk gave very convincing Proofs of his Title to the Slave. The Emperor who at first made shew, as if he were unable to determin so doubtful a Controversy, proceeded to hear other Causes. Soon after, calling for Ink he order'd it to be given carelessly to the Slave, to order something that was amiss about it. She manag'd it so dextrously. and with so much dispatch, that the Emperor concluded she must have

been accustom'd to it. Then in a great Passion at the Slave, you dont says he belong to the Soldier, you have been a Servant to the News-writer, and with him you shall abide. The whole Empire admir'd the Wisdom of the Prince.

Cha-Jaham was inexorable as to Judges, corrupted by Bribes or otherwise byass'd from Favor or Affection. The * *Cotwal* of *Dely* had receiv'd of a Merchant, a very litigious Person, a small Summ to Engage him in his Interests. The Emperor had an Account of it, and immediately sent him an Officer, with one of those Cup-Adders, whose Sting is incurable. The *Cotwal* suffer'd himself to be Stung by it, and expir'd a few Hours after.

* *A Judge of Eunuchs and Civil matters*

His Laws for purging his Dominions of High-way-Men are commendable above all the rest. The Roads before his Reign had been infested with 'em and Commerce very much interrupted. The Emperor was so severe a Prosecutor of these Offenders, that they were at last intirely suppress'd. The means he made use of for cleering his Country of 'em, was to render the Civil Magistrates accountable for all the Robberies committed within their Districts. Thus the *Hollanders* Store-house at *Surate,* being plunder'd in the Night, *Cha-Jaham* made the Governor pay the Sum, which their Effects amounted to.

The Severity of *Cha-Jaham* towards those about his Person, suspended in some Measure the Contempt, which Voluptuous and sluggish Princes draw upon themselves. They sometimes forgot their Respect for him. One of those *Omhras* who serve in the Armies, had the boldness to sit down in his Presence, contrary to the usage of the

Empire. *Cha-Jaham* turn'd him out of all his Employments, and took away his Pensions. The degraded Officer presented himself next Day at the Emperors Audience, and appear'd with as much Assurance as he did the Day before. Then insolently sitting down a Second Time; now Sir, said he, that I am no longer in your Service, I may take the Liberty due to a Person who is independent. The Emperor commended his Resolution, encreased his former Sallery, and took him into his Service for Life. This easiness of the Emperor in forgiving, had often embolden'd the Courtiers to speak to him with too much Freedom. An Ambassador of the King of *Golconda,* follow'd the Example of the *Mogols* own Subjects in this particular. One Day *Cha-Jaham* discoursed with him of the King his Master, of his Meen and Shape; Afterwards turning about of a suddain towards a Slave of a very Indifferent Aspect, whose Employment was that of driving away the Flies from about the Throne: Your King of *Golconda,* said he, is he as tall as yon Slave? no, Sir, answer'd the Ambassador, he wants a great deal of it; he's only about the Head taller than your Majesty. He commended the Ambassador for his Answer, and loaded him with Presents at his Departure.

The Emperors Vices unattended with any of those Virtues which beget Respect, occasion'd at long run the Contempt of his People, and the Revolts of his Children. The *Indians* above all neglected their Duty with impunity. It's a Custom in the *Indies,* for the *Rajas* in the Neighborhood of the Place where the King has his Residence, to come by turns and Mount the Guard before the Palace Gates, and Quarter in Tents

with their *Regeputes* for the Pomp and Security of the *Mogol.* One of these Princes named *Amarsin* neglected attending in his turn. After several admonishments from his Friends, he came at last upon Duty. *Visir-Cham* one of the Secretaries of State, Reproached him in the Presence of the Emperor, upon his Neglect. The *Raja* who thought himself affronted, drew his Poignard, Stabb'd the Minister to the Heart, and sprinkl'd *Cha-Jahams* Cloathes wtth the Blood. Such an amazing Piece of Insolence, was Punish'd upon the spot. *Amarsin* was Stabb'd in a Thousand Places; but the *Regeputes* his Followers Reveng'd the Death of their Master. They Massacr'd all before 'em in Town and Palace, and their Cruelties went unpunish'd,

So precarious a Government encourag'd the other *Rajas* to Attempt any thing. *Champet* one of the most Haughty, and most Powerful, refus'd to Pay his Tribute. The *Astrologers* who had got Possession of the Emperor, and Govern'd ail his Actions by their false Predictions, Pronounc'd that *Cha-Jaham* ought himself to appear in the Field and Fight the Rebel. They added that *Dely* wou'd prove Fatal for one Month, to him who shou'd hold the fiist Place there. Hereupon the Emperor March'd forth at the Head of his Army, and left the *Cotwal* Governor of *Dely* in his Absence. *Sadul-Cham* commanded the Troops under the *Mogol.* They advanc'd towards the *Raja,* who appear'd in the Field and mov'd to meet his Enemy. She General whom the Presence of the Emperor had render'd timerous, Judg'd it better to enter into a Treaty with *Champet* than Attaque him. They offer'd a Pardon for what was past, and assur'd him his Do-

minions shou'd be enlarged, and his Governments multiply'd, if he wou'd retire to his own Country without drawing his Sword against his Soveraign. The design of *Sadul-Cham*, was to make the *Raja* quit an Advantageous Post which he had secur'd, and where it was a hard matter to force him. *Champet* trusted the General and drew off his Forces. They pursu'd him contrary to the Faith given, and had certainly cut him in Pieces in his Retreat, if meer good Fortune had not preserv'd his Troops. They gain'd an inaccessible Forest, and afterwards Mountains, where they escap'd the Emperors Treachery. *Cha-Jaham* came back to *Dely*, cover'd with the Infamy of breaking Faith without Success, with a *Raja* who took the Field soon after, and ravag'd the Emperors Country without Resistance. The Emperor upon his Arrival found the *Cotwal* of *Dely* Dead. The Kings *Astrologers* had him Poison'd by his own Physitian. *Cha-Jaham* who thought himself indebted for his Life to their Predictions, became a greater Slave than ever to *Astrology*.

The Emperor began to grow Old, and his Passions chang'd with his Age. *Avarice* succeeded profuseness. We may venture to say, that it equall'd all his other Vices, and even surpass'd 'em. The recompences he gave the principal Officers of his Court and Army consisted in the privilege he allow'd 'em, of oppressing the People without Controul. As fast as the *Omhras* grew bloated by their Extortions, the Emperor inrich'd himself by their Spoils, and appropriated to himself all the Fruits of their Usurpations. To keep the immense Riches the more securely, which his Tributes and Exactions increas'd daily, he had Two deep Vaults dug in his Palace of *Dely*, supported by

huge Marble Pillars. In one he laid up his Gold in mighty Hoards, and in the other he kept his Silver. To make the carrying away any of his Treasure the more difficult, he took care to have both the Silver and Gold Coyn'd into Pieces of so prodigious a bigness, that they cou'd be of no use in Trade. *Cha-Jaham* spent a great part of the Day in those Vaults, upon pretence of the Coolness of 'em; but in reality to Feast his Eyes with those vast Heaps of Riches.

This so unworthy a Passion in a great King made him commit Faults against all the Rules of Policy, which drew on his own Ruin, and the Desolation of his Estates.

He was so much afraid of his Childrens being Expensive to him at Home, that he sent 'em into remote Governments, without making any other Provision for 'em, then what they cou'd squeeze out of the People. This was an oversight he certainly never cou'd have been Guilty of, had he made ever so little Reflection on his Fathers Conduct in Relation to himself. *Jehan-Guir* had been engag'd in so many intestine Wars, only by sending his Children Abroad, and distributing Provinces among 'em in his own Life-time, which those Princes pretended to Govern in an independant manner. But the Example did not serve to render him Wiser.

Cha-Jaham had but Seven Childern by all his Wives, for the *Mogols* make no scruple of checking their Friutfulness by criminal Artifices. Four of 'em were Sons, and Three Daughters. The Princes * *Begom-Saeb* was the eldest of *Cha-Jaham's* Children, and *Sultan Dara* the eldest of his Sons. *Cha-Chuia* the Third, and *Oramgzeb* who Reigns at this Day was the Fourth. *Rox-*

* Begom *signifies a Princess of the Blood.*

anara-Begom was the Fifth. *Moradbax* the Sixth, and *Merinza-Begom* the Seventh and last. As all the Intreagues of the *Seraglio* and the Civil-Wars which disturb'd the Reign of *Cha-Jaham,* turn principally on these Princes and Princesses, 'twill be necessary to give an *Idea* of each of 'em to wards the explaining the History of a Revolution, which ended in the Ruin of *Cha-Jaham,* and the placing *Oramgzeb* on the Throne.

Begom-Saeb was a Princess of entraordinary Beauty, and fine Sense. The Affection she always had for her Father, and profuseness of the avaricious *Cha-Jaham* on his Daughter, made People suspect there was something Criminal in their mutual Tenderness. It was indeed no more than a popular Fame without any other Foundation, than that of the Malice of Courtiers, Certainly if *Cha-Jaham* had a criminal Passion for *Begom-Saeb,* we may say it was not attended with any great Delicacy on his Part. He left this Daughter, whom the Rules of Policy did not suffer him to Marry, such a Liberty as without doubt he wou'd not have allow'd, had he had any amorous concern in her Conduct. He was not dissatisfy'd with the choice she made of one of the *Musitians* of the Court for a Favorite. He was not Ignorant of the meetings the Princess gave him, and yet he himself bestow'd several Favors upon him. In fine, if *Begom-Saeb* had so great an Ascendant over her Father, 'twas intirely owing to her Complaisance, and the Charms of her Wit. This Princess was always wedded to the Party of *Sultan-Dara.* This hopes which that Prince gave his Sister of marrying her, if ever he shou'd be Emperor, fix'd her inseparably in his Interests.

Dara together with a fine proportion, and the

regular Features of his Face, had noble Inclinations and a sincere Heart. Never any Prince perhaps of his Rank had more penetrating Wit, or took more Pains to cultivate it. He had Learn'd all our *European* Sciences, and almost all our Languages. The Esteem he had for the *Europeans* gave some Umbrage to the great Men of the Court.. They foresaw that under his Reign the *Franguis* wou'd have the greatest Share in his Favor. His Insight into *Phylosophy*, and Knowledge of several Religions of the World, made him despise that of *Mahomet*. If he had hapned to Reign; the *Christian* Religion wou'd doubtless have found in him an avou'd and much more effectual Protector then *Jehan-Guir* his Grand-Father. His Liberality had drawn to him from all Parts, the ablest Ingeneers, and the best Gunners, of all the Nations of *Europe*. So many rare Qualities which cou'd not choose but gain him the Love of the People, render'd him Haughty, and too presuming on his own Merit. It was an Affront to offer him the least Advice, and a wronging his Judgment to pretend to see further into matters than he. Thence proceeded that Contempt he express'd for his Ministers, and the little dependance his Ministers had on him. As he never wou'd discover his Sentiments to his Council, his Council on the other Hand never dar'd to give him their wholesome Advice. In the mean time he thought himself belov'd by all that came near him, and the good opinion he had of himself made all Flattery and Truth go down alike. In a Word, he was too sensible of his own Merit, to employ it to all the Advantage he might have done, for the advancement of his Fortune. This Prince had Two Sons, the eldest was called

Sultan Solyman-Chacu, and the Second *Sultan Super-Chata.*

Cha-Chuia was the Third of *Cha-Jaham's* Children. He wanted neither, Courage nor Resolution in great undertakings, but was still more Politick then Brave. He retain'd *Emissaries* in his Fathers Court, who inform'd him of the most secret Designs. He had his spy's about his Brother *Dara,* who watch'd all his Motions, and who corrupted the best Officers, and the best Gunners of his Army. *Cha-Chuia* in a private Intelligence with the principal *Rajas* of the Empire; and *Jacont-Sing* the most formidable of 'em, was his declar'd Friend. 'Tis even said that this Prince held a Correspondence with the King of *Persia*; at least it's certain that to invite *Persians* the more freely into his Service, he had embrac'd the Doctrin of *Aly*; and renounc'd the *Mahometisme,* profess'd in the *Indies,* and in *Turky,* to become a Member of the *Persian* Heresie.

The Fourth of *Cha-Jaham's* Children was *Oramgzeb.* Nature seem'd to have taken a Pleasure in displaying in this Princes Person all the greatest Perfections of Body and Mind. He had a graceful Person, and a natural sweetness in his Countenance. His thin Constitution gave him an Air of Mortification which he knew how to enhance, by discourses of Piety. He had a ghastly took, his Comlpexion was always Pale, and his Eyes Sunk in his Head. He appear'd Thoughtful and Reserv'd, not given to Talk except from a Zeal for the Religion of *Mahomet,* and the Observance of his Law. He always carry'd the *Alcoran* under his Arm. His Prayers were frequent and publick. He read over every Day certain Heads of the Praises of God, with an Attention that imposed

on the most Discerning. Accordingly 'twas said he had enter'd himself into the Fraternity of *Faquirs*, and that as soon as he cou'd free himself from the cares of the World, he was resolv'd to go and spend the remainder of his Days in Prayer and Pennance near the Tombe of *Mahomet*. The better to impose on the Multitude he never appear'd Abroad but in White, very Plain, and generally without those Ornaments of Jewels, in which the *Mogol* Princes usually Sparkle. His Food was suitable to the simplicity of his Apparrel. A little Rice and Pulse were the only Meats serv'd to his Table. As for Wine he did not know the Taste of it, and his Exactness in this so essential an Article was ever unchangeable. In his very Infancy he discover'd a Disposition to Politicks and Dissimulation. Under all these Discourses of a retir'd Life, *Oramgzeb* conceal'd a boundless Ambition, he look'd on 'em as the likelyest Means of securing himself against the Violences of a suddain Rovolution. He knew his Lot after the Death of *Cha-Jahqm* his Father, must either be to Reign or Dye. In this Thought he resolv'd either to mount the Throne, if a way shou'd open to him, or secure his Life by seeming to renounce the World and sacrificing all his Pretentions, by devoting himself to a religious Life. In the mean time Calumny did not spare publishing that this Prince did in Private plunge himself into the most forbidden Pleasures. The *Faquirs* (say they) whose Company he Affects, are the Confidents and Ministers of his Debauches.

Roxanara-Begom the Fifth of the Children of *Cha-Jaham*, was not near so Beautiful as her elest Sister; but she was much more plyant and cunning. *Begom-Saeb* resembled the *Sultan* *Dara*

in Humour and Wit, and *Roxanara* took after *Oramgzeb.* She had all his dissimulation and cunning. She was also engag'd in the Interest of that Prince, serv'd him as a spy in the *Seraglio,* and gave him Notice of every thing of Moment that pass'd there.

Moradbax the last of the Sons of *Cha-Jahum* was a Prince of great Valor but little Conduct. His Pleasures consisted wholly in the Exercises of of hunting and shooting. He Fought *Lyons* and wild *Boars,* and valu'd himself more upon stout though rash Actions, then upon the most circumspect and refin'd Politicks. He despised all the ways of Negotiation, and depended intirely on the Strength of his Arm. However he was a *Mahometan* in Principle, and the Professions he made of Piety were sincere.

Merinza-Begom the youngest of the Daughters of *Cha-Jaham* was a Princess passable enough for Beauty, but of mean Sense. All her time was employ'd in Childish Amusements. Little Trinkets, or fine Cloaths satisfy'd her Ambition, and never did she intermeddle with the different Factions which divided the *Seraglio* and the Empire.

Cha-Jaham had resolv'd then to send away his Sons from Court, and confine his Daughters within the Walls of his *Seraglio.* The *Vice-Royship* of *Bengal* was given to *Cha-Chuia, Oramgzeb* was sent to *Decan* in Quality of *Vice-Roy,* and the *Vice-Royship* of *Guzurate* fell to *Moradbax*. *Dara* alone continued near the Emperor. As he was destin'd by the order of Birth, and the Inclinations of *Cha-Jaham* for the Empire of Indoustan,he was brought up under his Fathers Eye, and became the Soul of his Council. Happy, had he not

begun so early to let the People see what they were to expect from his Administration!

As soon as *Dara* began to come into Power he grew imperious and inaccessible. None but a few *Europeans* had any share in his Confidence. The *Jesuits* above all others were most respected at his Court. These were *P. P. Stanislas Malpica* a *Neapolitan*, *Pedro Juzarte* a *Potuguese,* and *Henry Busee* a *Flemming*. This last had gain'd very much upon the Prince, and had his Advice been follow'd, 'tis probable that *Christianity* wou'd have ascended the Throne with *Dara*. And yet as great a Credit as this Father had with him, he never cou'd prevail to have the *Astrologers* remov'd from Court. The fill'd the Prince with such Notions, as made him inseparable from 'em. One of these false Prophets had engag'd on the Forfeiture of his Head, that *Dara* shou'd be Emperor. Being one Day askt by a Friend From what Assurance he cou'd Answer with so much hazard for an uncertain Event, I do not run so great a hazard as you may imagin, says the *Astrologer*. If the Prince Ascends the Throne, my Prediction's Right, and my Fortune will be made by it; if he misses the Crown his Death is unavoidable. I shall then have nothing to fear from him.

The Authority of *Dara* grew excessively in the Absence of his Brothers. *Cha-Jaham* who was grown old, was King of nothing more than his Treasures. His eldest Son Govern'd Absolutely. There was a *Sopha* or Chair of State set up for him, somewhat lower indeed than his Fathers Throne; but he was the first Prince of the *Mogol* Blood that ever was allow'd to sit in the Presence of the Emperor. He had a power to make the

Elephants Fight, when ever he pleased, an incommunicable Prerogative of the Soveraign. In fine, excepting the Revenues of the Empire, which *Cha-Jaham* was ever *Jealous* of, *Dara* had all the Advantages of Royalty and all the Reality.

So much Power encreased the Pride of a Prince naturally Haughty; all his Answers were slighting, and his Air Scornful. An Officer belonging to *Mahobet-Cham,* who was still Alive in his Retirement, had insulted a Soldier belonging to the Prince. D*ara* gave Orders immediately for bringing up *Mahobet-Cham* by Force to the Cittadel of D*ely*. The old General had still Authority enough in the Army to cut out Work for D*ara,* and Courage enough to defend himself, shou'd he have been attaqu'd. C*ha*-C*aham* advis'd his Son not to push that matter too far.

All the Emperors Ministers, and all the Generals of his Army, were the Objects of the Princes Jealousy, and ill Treatment. He was charg'd with having Poyson'd *Sadul Cham* whom *Cha-Jaham* had rais'd to the Dignity of first Minister. *Jacont-Sing* that famous *Raja,* whose Power and Valor had render'd him 'formibable to the *Mogols* was insulted by the Prince. He call'd him *Musitian,* a Name of much Contempt in the *Indies.* The *Raja* dissembled his Resentment form the present, but made it appear in due time. *Mirza Mula,* who was sent in quality of General to make War with the King of *Golcond,* was depriv'd by *Dara* of his best *European* Gunners. I know. said that General, at parting how to be even with him, and his Threats prov'd but too Real. All such as the Prince suspected of not being Hearty in his Interest, he either imprison'd or sent into Exile. One of the Secretaries of State

was found strangl'd in his Bed. The Suspition of his Death immediately fell upon *Dara*. But what touch'd the great Men most, was the Princes odious way of making Comparisons between 'em, and a poor Slave who serv'd him in the meanest Capacity. If any General of the Army, or Minister of State, hapned to be commended in the Presence of *Dara*, he immediately enter'd on the Praises of *Abercan*, which was the Name of his Slave.

While *Dara* was thus industriously making himself Enemies, by his disobliging lofty Carriage, *Cha-Chuia* led a Peaceful Life in *Bengale*. *Moradbax* in his Government of *Guzuratte* employ'd his time in the exercise of Arms, in Hunting, and in the Pleasures of his *Seraglio*. *Oramgzeb* alone, was in a profound Meditation, to find out the properest means for stepping into the Throne before his Two elder Brothers, at least for sheltering himself from the Persecutions of that Prince whom Providence had decreed to Reign. Never were Laws administer'd with more Justice, then under hts Government in *Decan*. He judg'd the establishing an unblemish'd Reputation of Probity, one infallible Means of advancing his Fortune. Religion, which was only a Mask for his Ambition, seem'd to be the principal Business of his Life. He erected *Mosques*, he spent most of his Time among the *Faquirs* to be thought a Despiser of the World, after their Example, and in their Company. For all this it must be own'd 'twas no hard matter to see through this Vail of Dissimulation, I know not what Tincture of ill Nature in his very Acts of Piety.

One Day he assembl'd all the *Faquirs* of the Country, with an intent to distribute a conside-

rable Charity among 'em, and to have the Consolation of eating a Meal of Rice and Salt with these holy Men ; so he express'd it. The Place of meeting was an open Field. *Oramgzeb* entertain'd this prodigious Multitude of poor Penitents, with a repast suitable to their Condition. After Dinner, the *Vice-Roy* let 'em know that he intended to give 'em every one a new suit of Cloaths, and make 'em throw of their tatter'd Rags which look'd very unseemly.' *Oramgzeb* was not Ignorant that most of these Beggars had a great many Gold* *Roupies*, the Fruits of their mumping, quilted in their patch'd Jackets. Several of 'em excused themselves from that Spirit of Poverty, which makes the essential Character of their Profession, and refused to change their old Cloaths. But their Remonstrances were all in vain; the Prince insisted on his having the Merit of a thorow good Work. The *Faquisrs* were all uncased, and constrain'd to put on the new Suits which were provided for 'em. They gather'd the Spoil of the *Faquirs* into one Heap, they set Fire to it, and so considerable a Sum was found in the Ashes, that if we believe some Writers of the Country, 'twas one of the best Funds *Oramgzeb* had for maintaining the War against his Brothers.

* *The Coin of* Indoustan.

That Devotion of which he made publick Profession, did not in the least destroy his Warlike Disposition. 'Tis True, he gave all his Designs a varnish of Piety and Zeal. 'Twas upon a pretence of this Nature that he undertook to dethrone, the King of *Golconda*, a *Mahometan* by Religion, but devoted to the *Persian* Sect. The occasion of *Oramgzeb's* engaging in so great a Design was this.

Mirza-Mula (whom others call *Mergi-Mola*) a

Persian by Birth, who came into the *Indies* a Servant to a *Persian* Merchant, having serv'd for some time in the *Mogol* Troops, and raised himself ly degrees to the principal *Posts* in the Army, at last disgusted by the flights of *Sultan-Dara*, went over to the king of *Golconda*, He immediatly nam'd him first intendant of his Revenues, and Commissioner of Trade. *Mirza-Mula* made the best of this Advantageous Post, and by trading on his own Account quickly heap'd up Immense Riches. He employ'd 'em at first to gain the good Will of his master. He got a great many Curiosities from *Europe*, cabinets from *China*, and *Elephants* from *Ceylon*, of which he continually made presents to the King. His Magnificence soon distinguish'd him at Court, and as he came to be known he Rose to the highest Promotions. But what made him still more considerable, was an Intreague of Gallantry between him and the King's Mother. This Princess had some remains of Beauty in a declining Age.

The Suspicions the King had of the loose Carriage of his Mother, did only serve to raise the Fortune of *Mirza-Mula*. He was sent away from Court in Order to deprive the old Queen of this Occasion of her disorderly Conduct, and appointed Governor of the Province of *Carnatte*. The cunning *Persian* knew how to make his Market of this Disgrace. The Diamond-Mines, which render the Kingdom of *Golconda* so famous, were within the extent of his Government. He set about his Business betimes like a Man who understood the World; He laid by the largest Diamonds for himself, and the most Perfect; one in particular Matchless in its kind, which he afterwards presented to the *Mogol* Emperor.

It's at this Day the Wonder of all good Judges. The Governor drove an open Trade of his Diamonds, and sent only the Refuse to the King. *Don Philip Mascarrenas* the *Potuguese Vice-Roy* of *Goa,* was his principal Correspondent. *Mirza-Mula's* Design in this, was to secure a Retreat among the *Portuguese,* in case of a reverse of Fortune. The *Persian* who found himself powerfully supported, set no Bounds to his Extortions. He pillag'd the Temples of the *Idols;* he Tore of all the precious Stones with which the Statues were adorn'd; he forc'd the Inhabitants of *Carnatte* to bring him in all their Gold and Jewels. Those who according to the Custom of the Country were convict of having buryed their Treasures dyed by the *Bastinado.* Such excessive Cruelties made him odious in his Government, and his Immense Riches, created him Envy at Court.

The King who had been inform'd of the Governors Conduct, determin'd to recal him, and Confiscate his Effects. This Design was not kept so Secret, but the old Queen had Notice of it. She sent her Favorite an Account of the Danger which threatned, and drew him with her own Hand the Scheme of a Rebellion, which was to end in dethroning her own Son. The Measures taken by 'em were these. *Mirza-Mula* Writ to *Oramgzeb*, that the time was now come for conquering the Richest Kingdom of *Indoustan;* that after having been once employ'd in the Service of the *Mo ols,* he had never gone over to the King of *Golconda,* but with a Design to open his old Master a way for the Conquest of so Noble a Country; that for the better accomplishing it, he had settl'd a private Correspondence in the *Seraglio*, and that all the Forces of the Kingdom

were at his Devotion. The *Mahomed-Amicam* his Son, was at the Head of the Armies of *Golconda*; and for his own part, that he had in his Province of *Carnatte*, a certain Number of Troops partly *Portuquese*, intirely devoted to his Interests. That if *Oramgzeb* wou'd enter the Territories of *Golconda*, with never so small an Army, the whole Kingdom wou'd take Arms in Favor of him.

Oramgzeb was at this time at *Oramgabad* a City he had founded in his *Vice-Royship* of *Decan*, and to which he had given his own Name. 'Tis not to be conceiv'd how great his Joy was upon receiving so agreeable a Message. He judg'd that the Conquest of *Golconda* wou'd be a good step towards his carrying the *Mogol* Empire.

To execute this Project of *Mirza-Mula*, he did not judge the attacking the Frontiers of *Golconda* his surest Game. He took a Resolution to go himself in Quality of Ambassadour from *Oramgzeb* to the King, and in Person endeavour a Revolution in the very Capital. He composed him a Retinue out of the bravest Officers of his Army and set forward with a Guard numerous enough for an Ambassadour. Thus without loosing time, he advanc'd by long Journies towards *Baganagar*, the Capital of *Golconda*, spreading a Report all the way, that he was an Ambassadour from *Oramgzeb*, sent to the King for negotiating some Affairs of Importance. The Stratagem Succeeded. The pretended Ambassadour enter'd *Baganagar* without being discover'd.

Immediately after his Arrival, *Oramgzeb* held a Consultation with the Son of *Mirza-Mula*, General of the Kings Army, and agreed with him to Seize the King at the first Audience given to *Oramgzeb* and the Moment he shou'd deliver

his Credentials. This plot was not carry'd on with so much Privacy, but the King had Intelligence of it. He was inform'd that *Oramgzeb* was come in Person to his Capital; that he design'd to invade his Kingdom, and attempt his Life; in fine, that his own Troops had conspir'd against him. The King of *Golconda* took the wisest Course. He abondon'd *Baganagar* his Capital, and retir'd to his Fortress of *Golconda*, which gives its Name to the whole Kingdom, and is not above a League distant from *Baganagar*. *Oramgzeb* was very much vex'd, at his being dis appointed of his Prey. He took revenge of the Capital which he pillag'd, and of the Royal Palace which he rifled of all its Gold and Jewels.

In the mean time the Army of *Mirza-Mula* advancing from *Carnatte*, upon the News of the Arrival of *Oramgzeb*, came and joyn'd that of *Mahamed-Amicam*. 'Twas resolv'd to lay Seige to *Golconda*, whither the King was retir'd. This Fortress which passes in the *Indies* for Impregnable was invested by both Armies, under the Command of *Oramgzeb*, when that Prince thought fit to give notice to *Cha-Jaham* his Father of the State of *Golconda*, and of the Conquest the was about to make. The Machines were already raised for beginning the Siege, and the Canals which convey'd Water into the Citadel were cut off. The Danger to which the Poor King was exposed, he made him resolve to Capitulate with his Enemy, and put himself into his Hands, upon Condition of sparing his Life, and allowing him at the *Mogols* Court the Station of a *Raja*. While he was deliberating on these Points, an Express arriv'd from the Emperor, with Orders to *Oramgzeb* to raise the Seige and return to *Decan*

Cha-Jahám who took Umbrage at his Son, and was besides dissatisfy'd at his undertaking that Conquest without his Knowledge, gave Ear to the representations of *Dara*, and the *Jealousies* of *Begom-Saeb*. They made it appear to the Emperor, that the Usurpation of the Kingdom of *Golconda*, was design'd as a Step to the Throne of the *Mogols*; That the Crafty *Vice-Roy* of *Decan* consider'd the Glory of his Father in it, much less then his own Interest; that 'twas better Sacrifice a new Acquisition to the publick Safety, then let *Oramgzeb* grow great, with hazard to the Royal Family. These were the real Motives which oblig'd *Cha-Jaham* to call off his Son from an Enterprise already far advanc'd. *Oramgzeb* Obey'd; but he pretended other Reasons, for his sudden Resolution of relinquishing the Expedition of *Golconda*. He counterfitted a person Inspir'd from above, and made his Souldiers believe, that some Scruples he had of oppressing a *Mahometan* Prince, made him quit a War which he had as good as Finish'd. He concluded an honourable Treaty with the King of *Golconda* and restor'd him to the Possession of his Dominions upon the following Conditions. I. That the *Mogol* shou'd be reimburs'd all the Expences he was at in carrying on the War. II. That the King's Daughter shou'd be given in Marriage to *Mahamud* the eldest Son of *Oramgzeb*. III. That the Princess shou'd have in Dowery all the Revenues of the Province of *Ranguir*. IV. That after the Death of the King of *Golconda*, *Mahamud* shou'd be Successor to him in Right of the Princess his Wife. V. That all the Coin of *Golconda*, shou'd of one Side have the Effigies of *Cha-Jaham*. VI. In fine, that *Mirza Mula*, with all his Family, shou'd have Liberty

to depart the Territories of *Golconda* with all their Effects.

Thus the politick *Oramgzeb* made the best of an Enterprise, which he did not quit without a deal of Regret. After having been disappointed in the Conquest of *Golconda*, he bethought him of opening his way to the Empire, by underhand Practices. He consider'd M*irza*-M*ula* as a Person he might reckon upon. The Expedition he had lately undertaken in Conjunction with him, and that Generals antient Emnity to *Sultan Dara*, render'd him the most proper Instrument for the Princes Designs. To keep so great a Captain in the Neightourhood of his Goverment, *Oramgzeb* desir'd the Court, that M*irza*-M*ula* might Command the Army appointed for the Conquest of *Visapour*. The Court granted his Request, on Condition, that M*irza*-M*ula's* Wives and Children were sent to *Dely*, as Hostages for his Fidelity. The *Vice-Roy*, who had now made sure of M*irza*-M*ula* by this good Office, open'd his Heart to him without reserve. He complain'd of the Tyranny of Prince *Dara*. He added, that the not annexing the Kingdom of *Golconda* to the Provinces of the Empire, was meerly owing to the Jealousig of his Brother; that the Emperor himself was wholly govern'd by *Dara;* that *Cha-Jaham* had forfeited the Title of Father, in depriving Three of his Children of all Marks of paternal Tenderness, to lavish all his Favors on the person of their Brother D*ara;* that for his part he hoped to find in M*irza*-M*ula*, a Father, a Friend, a Protector, and universal Confident of his most secret Designs. M*irza*-M*ula* receiv'd with joy the Protestations of so great a Prince, and oblig'd himself by Vows and Engagements

never to give out till he had establish'd him on the Throne. This Conversation was kept very Private. But it broke out with a Witness in a short time after, as we shall see in the Course of this History.

Mean time *Oramgzeb* in the City of *Orambagad*, continu'd to amuse the publick by Appearances of an extraordinary Piety, whilst M*irza*-M*ula* of his Side, was taking Towns in *Wisapour*. The famous Cittadel of *Beder* made but a few Months Resistance. There was no suspition of any private Intelligence between the *Vice*-R*oy* of D*ecan*, and that General; The whole Empire was in a seeming Tranquility, and all things bow'd under the Authority of D*ara*, when the Sickness of C*ha-Jaham* made room for a strange Revolution.

'Tis said, that the Emperor mightily given to Women, even in his old Age, had by the use of some hot Liquors taken as Provocatives, got a stoppage of Urin which reduc'd him to a desperate Condition. The News of C*ha-Jaham's* Sickness was soon spread over the City of *Dely*, with a deal of Industry, by the Enemies of D*ara*, and the News of his Death soon follow'd that of his Sickness. It reach'd in a little time all the Provinces of the Empire. The Three Brothers in particular, had Accounts of it from their *Emissaries* at Court. 'Tis true, the Emperor had been in great Danger, but the Strength of his Constitution sav'd him. Mean time the Princes on the first rumor of the Death of their Father, took fitting Measures according to the Genius of each. C*ha*-C*huia* who was the most Active of the Three, appear'd first in the Field, bending his March towards D*ely*, with an Army which he always kept ready for the first Occasion. He had already

Forty Thousand Horse in his Train. As the Richest Government hapned to fall to his Share, he took with him some *Camel* Loads of Gold *Roupies* for paying these Troops, and for raising others. 'Tis said, that as he was ready to take *Horse*, holding his *Cymetar* in his Hand, he cry'd aloud, *either the Throne or a Grave*! Then putting himself at the Head of his Army, he took his way by the great Road of *Agra*, giving out every where upon his March, that the Emperor was Dead of Poyson, which the profidious *Dara* had forc'd him to take, and that he was making all possible hast to Revenge the Death of the best of Fathers.

Cha-Jaham who begun to mend in his Health, was highly incens'd at the Account of his Sons Proceedings. However he thought he shou'd be able to keep him off from the Capital by his Wheedles; He Writ him a Letter with his own Hand, that the danger of his Sickness was over; that the Ambition of *Dara* had no way contributed to it: That nevertheless he took his disquiets in good part, and the Concern he had shewn for his Fathers Welfare; that he might now return to his Government of *Bengal*, and repair by an exact Obedience the Over-sights which his Excess of Zeal had made him commit. *Cha-Chuia* receiv'd his Fathers Letter on the Road; but 'twas accompany'd with other Letters from some of his *Emissaries* at Court. They assur'd him, that his Fathers Sickness was Mortal, and that his Fortune depended on his appearing immediately before *Dely*. *Cha-Chuia* therefore dissembled the Orders he had receiv'd from his Father, and endeavor'd by long Marches to prevent *Dara's* preparations to oppose him. The Approach of the

Rebel, oblig'd *Cha-Jaham*, Sick as he was, to change his Quarters, and fly for Refuge to *Agra*, about Five and Twenty Leagues from *Dely*. *Dara* follow'd his Father, not thinking it proper to leave him in so dangerous a Conjuncture. Mean time he omitted nothing that was necessary for stopping the Career of *Cha-Chuia*.

Soliman-Chacu, the eldest son of *Dara* was a Prince of great hopes; Handsome, generous, steddy in his Conduct, and Prudent above his Years; he had all the Virtues of his Father, but none of his Vices. This accomplish'd Prince, was appointed by the Court to oppose the Rebels. Two Generals were nam'd to Command under him, the *Raja-Jasing* then esteem'd the greatest Captain of *Indoustan*, and *Dalil-Cham* a *Patane* by Nation, famous for many Victories. Private Orders were given to *Jasing*, to moderate the youthful Heat of the Prince *Soliman*, and to prevent his coming to a Battel, before they had first try'd what cou'd be done by Negotiation.

As soon as the Two Armies were in View oe each other, the Prince was of Opinion to giv his Unkle Battel. *Jasing* who till then hadf avoided coming to an Engagement, by keeping at a distance from the Enemy, sent a Letter to *Cha-Chuia*, much to this Effect. "Sir the Affection you Express for your Father, and the Proofs of Vallor which you have given, to the whole Empire, cannot be too much commended. In Tenderness to *Cha-Jaham*, you come to Punish the Authors of his Death, and your Courage is signaliz'd by that Celerity, with which you have approach'd an Army, Stronger and more inur'd to War than your own. But your Father is still living, and 'twere a disho-

" norable part in You, to Attack, contrary to all " Justice, the faithful Subjects of him, whom in " filial Piety you come to Revenge. Return " therefore to *Bengal* Sir, and dont imagine that " Valor is a Vertue, when attended with Inju- " stice.

This Letter made some Impression upon the Heart of C*ha*-C*huia*. He was for some time in suspence. At last his evil Genius prevail'd. He pull'd of the Mask, and avow'd his Rebellion. But dreading the Experience of *Jasing*, and the Valor fo D*alil*-C*ham*, he endeavor'd by Artifice to Surprise these Two Generals. He sent an Answer to *Jasing* in these Words "The whole " Empire knows that all my Design in quitting " B*engal*, was to see Justice done on those who " had Poyson'd my Father. But he his living, " and my Tenderness is satisfy'd. I confine my " Ambition to the obeying his Orders within the " Sphere which he has assign'd me. Dispatch " then and give my Father an Account of my " Submission. What I expect from your respect " for me, and that of *Soliman* C*hacu* my Nephew, " is, that you wou'd Decamp first, that it may " not look as if I fled before you. Save but my " Honor, and you shall see I'm all Obedience.

Jasing knew very well, that all this was but a feint of the Prince to surprise the Imperial Army, and fall upon their Rear. However, to take away all Pretences from the Rebel, he made a shew of agreeing to the Proposals of C*ha*-C*huia*, and Order'd to Sound a Retreat next Morning. The Baggage begun to File off about Sun-rise.

Mean time the Imperial Troops were drawn up in Order of Battel, for they who had been Order'd away for D*ely*, were only some of those

useless Straglers, which commonly follow the *Indian* Armies meerly for, Booty. *Cha-Chuias* Spies easily believ'd that all the Cavalry of the Emperors Army was Decampt, and gave Notice of it to their Prince. Whereupon the inconsiderate *Cha-Chuia* came pouring upon some of the Squadrons; he took 'em to be the Rear-guard, and hop'd to have a good Bargain of 'em. But he found himself mistaken. All the Imperial Horse made head against him, and fell in with his Troops so furiously that they quickly disorder'd 'em. Whatever Efforts *Cha-Chuia* made to rally his Troops he never cou'd accomplish it. The Imperialists became Masters of his Artillery, they took Forty *Elephants* and several Prisoners, which were sent to *Dely* as a Trophy of Victory. As for *Cha-Chuia* himself, *Jasing* who might easily have pursued and taken him, chose rather to let him escape. He well foresaw, that if he took him Prisoner, his fond Father wou'd not deprive him of Life, and that he shou'd thereby have one Enemy the more at Court. On the other Hand, he was not very much inclin'd to do *Sultan Dara* all the Kindness in his power. He still Remember'd his Slights, and the Title of *Musitian,* which that Prince made use of to affront him. From these Considerations, he gave an opportunity to *Cha-Chuia* to pick up the broken remains of his Army, and Retire to *Bengal.*

While the Second Son of *Cha-Jaham* had openly declar'd against his Father, the Two others were each in his Government, preparing Troops in Order to take the Field. As for *Oramgzeb* he did not think fit to declare, till he had taken such Measures as he thought necessary for accomplishing the great Design he had in hand. He waited

till *Moradbax* the youngest Brother had led the way towards *Dely*. Then taking Advantage of the seditious Movements, which the other Princes had made before him, he resolv'd to raise himself by their means, and perhaps at their Expence. Accordingly he Writ to *Moradbax* a Letter full of Dissimulation; it run thus. "You can't be Ignorant my dear Brother, of the Design I have taken to pass the rest of my Days in some private Retreat, and in Acts of Mortification. "The Grandeurs of the World are incapable of "touching my Heart. The only Passion that "preys upon me, is that of establishing the Wor"ship of God, and the Law of his Prophet in "their utmost Purity. I consider, that of all the "Sons of *Cha-Jaham*, whose Death is but too cer"tain, you alone retain a True Zeal for the *Al"coran*. *Dara* is a Reprobate wholly wedded to "the Religions of *Europe;* And *Cha-Chuia* is a "*Heretick* given up to the Sect of *Aly*, and in an "Intelligence with the *Schismaticks* of *Persia*. By "the help of God, and his holy Prophets! I "shan't suffer Profaneness or Heresie to sit upon "the Throne. You alone, my dear Brother, "whom I from henceforth Honor and Salute as "my Lord and Master, deserve to wear the Crown. "You are a true *Mussulman*, and the only defen"der of the Faithful. Suffer me then to joyn my "Troops with yours and together defend the "Side of Justice in fighting for Religion. For "my Part, I desire but one Favor for all the Ser"vices I pretend to do you, which is, that you "wou'd permit me after the Victory, to go and "spend the remainder of my Life near the Tomb "of *Mahomet* in Pennance and Prayer.

A Letter so full of Artifice, was joyfully re-

ceiv'd by *Moradbax*. In vain did *Cha-Abas* that faithful Eunuch who serv'd him as Prime Minister, advise him against entring into any Engagements with *Oramgzeb* without special Caution. The Promises of a Brother who flatter'd his Ambition, bewitch'd him so as to render him incapable of good Advice. The Answer he sent him was in these Words. " 'Tis but reasonable my dear " Brother that Two Hearts ever united like yours " and mine, by the Tyes of Friendship, shou'd be " still more closely cemented by a Zeal for the ' *Alcoran*. Let's go then Hand in Hand to defend " our Religion, assaulted by a Brace of *Apostats*. " I Swear by our great Prophet, that I shall al- " ways have the same respect for you as for a " Father, and if ever I am advanc'd to the " Throne, which you despise from a greatness of " Soul and Principles of Piety, that I'll preserve " for your Children all the Tenderness of a Fa- " ther, and for you all the Respect due to my " elder Brother, and Defender of our Religion.

When *Moradbax* consented to joyn his Troops to those of *Oramgzeb*, he did not imagin that those of his Brother cou'd be Superior to his own. The Government of *Decan*, which *Oramgzeb* had enjoy'd of a long time, was of much a smaller Extent than his own, and consequently the Forces Rais'd in it cou'd not be reputed very considerable. Besides, he thought *Oramgzeb* wanted Money, and that his Troops being subsisted at his Expence, must be intirely devoted to his Service. In this thought he took up vast Sums of Money from the Merchants of *Suratte*. *Moradbax* was mistaken: *Oramgzeb* had been heaping up Riches, from the first Moment of his *Vice-Royship* of *Decan* aud the Spoils of *Golconda* added

considerably to his Treasures. Besides, his Temperance stood him instead of a great Revenue, and his continual Patrimony Furnish'd prodigious Fonds for his necessary Expences: With regard to his Troops, the Artifice he made use of to render 'em numerous enough was this.

Mirza-Mula, who carry'd on a War for the Emperor in *Wisapour*, as we have already observ'd, was wholly in the Interest of the *Vice-Roy* of *Decan*. *Oramgzeb* dispatch'd Prince *Mahamud* his Son to that General, to engage him to a Performance of the Treaty they had entred into, after the Expedition of *Golconda*. The time is now come, says *Mahamud*, for placing *Oramgzeb* on the Throne. You have it in your Power, and you have given your Promise to Effect it. By joyning your Troops to his, you may render him an Over-match for his Brothers, and put him in Possession of a Crown, which he is willing to owe intirely to you, *Mirza-Mula* was dispos'd to do all that lay in his Power for *Oramgzeb*, his Oaths oblig'd him to it; but the Tenderness he had for his Wives and Children, made him some-what reserv'd upon the Point. *Dara* had 'em brought up to the Capital, as Hostages for his good Behavior. *Oramgzeb*, who foresaw the reasonable Apprehensions of M*irza*-M*ula*, propos'd to him by his Son an Expedient which the General accepted. It was that M*irza*-M*ula* shou'd give way to a Mutiny among his own Troops, suffer M*ahamud* to carry him away in the Nature of a Prisoner, to the Citadel of O*rambagad* and afterwards surrender the Command of his Army to the *Vice-Roy* of *Decan*. By this means the Crafty M*irza*-M*ula* drew on himself and his Family the Compassion of the Court, at the same time that he betray'd it; and

secur'd his Life and Fortune, in case *Oramgzeb* shou'd prevail.

By this Artifice the whole Body of *Mirza-Mula's* Troops, were incorporated into *Oramgzebs* Army. With this Reinforcement he thought he might venture to take the Field, in Conjunction with *Moradbax*, who was advancing towards *Dely*. The cunning *Oramgzeb* thought it necessary upon his departure, to give more than ordinary Proofs of his Piety. To engage *Mirza-Mula's* Army more effectually in his Service, he call'd God to Witness, that he did not undertake this War (the Thoughts of which gave him a Horror,) from any other Motive than that of Zeal. He took the *Alcoran* in his Hand, and prest it close to his Heart in view of all the Army, then in the Transports of an Enthusiastick, which he cou'd Counterfeit at Pleasure; 'its to defend you, cries he, sacred dictates of our holy Prophet, 'tis to revenge the Wrongs done to you by the Impious *Dara*, that I interrupt that Peace, which always ought to remain inviolate among Brethren! *Oramgzeb* did not neglect likewise to spread Report in his Army, of the Emperor his Fathers Death, and procur'd Letters to be sent him every Day from *Dely* to that Effect. All such as might undeceive the publick, were intercepted at the Fronteers. In fine, the Death *Cha-Jaham* was look'd on as certain, before the departure of *Oramgzeb* from *Decan*.

His next great concern was to prevent any suspicions of *Muradbax*. He Writ him several Letters upon his March, full of Respect. If the Army of *Mirza-Mula*, says he, in some of 'em, be joyn'd to mine, 'tis your Service only cou'd Influence 'em. These numerous Troops cou'd

never be perswaded to follow me, but on condition that they shou'd be employ'd in placing you on the Throne. They are animated by the same Zeal with our Selves. They are true *Mussulmans*, who have no other thought than that of making our Religion flourish, and fixing it with you on the Throne. Ambition had so intoxicated Moradbax, that he cou'd not perceive the grossest Snare. He Writ to his Brother about the junction of the Two Armies, and offer'd to come in Person to wait upon him. It does not become my Lord and Master, answers *Oramgzeb*, to prevent his Slave. I shall guide my self by your Movements, added he, and will order it so, that an interview which I passionately wish for, may not be long difer'd. In effect, *Oramgzeb* made hast to joyn his Brother, near to the Mountains of *Manddo*.

Never was there seen a tenderer meeting in all Appearance, then that of *Moradbax* and *Oramgzeb*. The latter alighted from his *Elephant* as soon as he came in sight of his Brother, and running to meet the Prince, prostrated himself in his Presence, and paid him all the Honors due to his Soveraign Lord. The Inchantment that *Moradbax* was under, grew infinitely Stronger upon him at these Submissions of his elder Brother. He now cou'd not harbor the least doubt of the Sincerity of his Protestations. Nor did *Oramgzeb* want the Skill to set 'em off with an Air of Simplicity, that cou'd not but impose on the most discerning. From that time forward he made *Moradbax* assume the Title of Emperor, and treated him accordingly as his Lord and Master, in Private and Publick. He always gave him the upper Hand, and in the Command of the Army, constantly receiv'd Orders from his Brother, whom he knew

how to turn and wind as he pleas'd, by the force of his Perswasions. In this disposition the Troops of the confederate Brothers, advanc'd with an equal pace towards the City of *Dely*.

The *Defile* of *Manddo* surrounded by Forests and Mountains, had been a difficult Pass for the Rebel-Army to force; by good Fortune they met with no Resistance There. I know not what Spirit of Distraction had seis'd *Cha-Jaham's* Council. Upon the News of the Two Brothers uniting their Forces, they thought of nothing more than securing the Capital. They did not dream of possessing any of the Posts, which might hinder the Approach of the Enemy. The Prince *Dara* though brave in his Person, and elevated by the Success of the Emperors Army, against the Forces of *Cha-Chuia*, was allarm'd at the March of the Two Brothers. He was sensible of the Intrepidity of *Moradbax*, and dreaded the Artifices and Intreagues of *Oramgzeb*. Besides, I know not what Prediction run in his Head, which promis'd the Crown to the *Vice-Roy* of *Decan*. In the midst of all these Allarms he used his endeavors to sow Dissentions between the Two Brothers, and disperse their Forces before they arriv'd at *Dely*. In ihe first Place he got a Letter to be sent to the Two Rebel-Princes, to let 'em know that *Cha-Jaham* was still Alive, and that they cou'd not come in such a manner to disturb his Repose, without violating the Respect which was due from 'em, to their Father and Sovereign.

Moradbax, who had an honest Heart, and whose Inclinations naturally led him to virtuous Actions, was somewhat shock'd at the near prospect of his Crime. Ambition had stifl'd his Remorse till now, and hinder'd his examining the ground of

those publick Reports of his Fathers Death; but he began to stagger when the approaching danger, and the guilt of his Rebellion, made him reflect on the Accounts of *Cha-Jahams* being Poyson'd, and *Dara's* being the Author of his Death. *Oramgzeb* who perceiv'd the uneasiness he was under, quickly remov'd his Scruples. The Reports which are spread with so much Industry of the Emperors being still Alive, are only Artifices of the same Hand which has depriv'd him of Life. *Dara* not content with his Father to Death, wou'd also lay Snares to involve his Brothers. No, Sir, our only safety now lies in our Union. The revenging our Fathers Death, and the Preservation of our own Lives, of those of our Wives and Children depend intirely upon it. Shou'd we from a vain Fear retire to our Governments, and leave the *Parricide* at Liberty to establish himself on the Throne, we shou'd quickly feel the Effects of his Cruelty, and of our own Folly. 'Twill then be too late to repent our having relinquish'd so just and so easy an Enterprise. As for you, my dear Brother, your loss will be much more considerable than mine. 'Tis true, we shall both have this Affliction in common, of seeing Impiety Triumphant, and Profane Worship's authoris'd; but what a Sting will it be for you to see a Scepter, which 'twas once in your Power to Grasp, in the Hands of a Brother over-whelm'd with Crimes. Come Sir, let's dally no longer, and since we must be ruin'd if we do not Strike, let's endeavor to Vanquish, and Reign by fighting. If *Cha-Jaham* be still Alive, which we must not easily believe, we'll wait upon him after the Victory, humble our selves before so good a Father, and Signalize our Affection, by letting him see

our Impatience to Revenge his suppos'd Death.

The Thirst of Dominion render'd *Moradbax* credulous once more. He yielded to his Destiny, and follow'd the Perswasions of *Oramgzeb*. 'Tis true, the Uncertainty which People were under, in the Army of the Two Brothers, as to the Life or Death of the Emperor, was not without some Ground. The People even of *Dely* were in Doubts. In vain *Cha-Jaham* now retir'd to *Agra*, shew'd himself dayly from the great Balcony of the Palace. It's only a *Phantom*, said they, or artificial Representation of the King; so diligent were *Emissaries* of *Oramgzeb*, in spreading all over *Indoustan* the certainty of his Death.

The Rebel-Army still advanc'd towards *Dely*. *Oramgzeb* did not think it convenient to lose time. He fear'd that *Sultan Chacu* diverted in Pursuing *Cha-Chuia* into the very Territories of *Bengal*, might bring back his victorious Troops, and joyn those of the Emperor. Besides, 'twas not safe giving his own Troops Time to undeceive themselves, as to the Death of *Cha-Jaham*. In this Thought he made very long Marches. In the mean time the Emperor incens'd against his Sons, whose Boldness he cou'd not put a stop to by his Letters, propos'd in Council to take in Field in Person, shew himself at the Head of his Armies, and disarm his Children by his Presence. This undoubtedly had been his wisest Course. 'Tis probable *Moradbax* wou'd not have persisted obstinately in his Rebellion, had he seen his Father. Those of the Council who favor'd *Oramgzeb*, diverted the Emperor from his prudent Resolution. They represented to him that this were hazarding the Life, and Authority of their

Soveraign too far. They added, that in case the Impetuousness so natural to Rebel-Armies, shou'd hurry 'em to Acts of disrespect for his Royal Person, he then cou'd have no Ressource; And that in case they prov'd obstinate, his Army was not Strong enough to make Head against 'em; on the other Hand, his Health was not thorowly restored, and the Fateagues of War might possibly Ruine it. Thus spoke *Calil-Cham* in Council, the secret Trusty Friend of *Oramgzeb*. Doubtless he had form'd the Scheme before hand, which afterwards broke out, and prov'd so Fatal to the Emperor. 'Tis even said that he employ'd the Charms of his own Wife, and the Tears of *Begom-Saeb*, to keep the Emperor in his *Seraglio*.

Dara, on the other Hand, who cou'd not find in his Heart to quit his Father, neglected taking the Field, and conducting in Person the Army, which was to Act against his Two Brothers. *Jacont-Sing*, and *Cassam-Cham* were the Two Generals Chosen to Command in his Room. The Prince made 'em Presents, and forgot no Promises to Engage 'em in his Service; But a deadly Wound had Fester'd of a long time, in the Heart of *Cassam-Cham*, which sowr'd him against all the Lenitives of *Dara*. Under these Captains March'd the Imperial Army to meet the Rebels.

On the Banks of the River *Ugen*, there stands a rising Ground in form of an Amphitheatre. Here the Imperial Army Incampt, to dispute the Passage of the River with the Confederate Troops. It began it's March from *Agra*, about the latter end of *April*, which is the hottest Season of the Year in the *Indies*. The River was fallen very low and fordable in many Places. *Oramgzeb* who commanded the Advance-guard of the Rebels,

appear'd first in view of the Enemy; but as the main Body of the Army was not yet come up, his whole endeavor was to hinder the Imperialists from passing and beginning the Battel. He dispos'd his Artillery on the Banks of the River, in the Places where it seem'd to be shallowest, and made a terrible Fire upon the Enemy, who were drawn up in Battalia on the other Side. By this means he gain'd time for the rest of the Troops to come up, and refresh themselves from their Fateagues, caused by the great Heats, and long Marches. Had *Jacont-Sing* given 'em Battel as soon as *Oramgzeb* appear'd, the Victory wou'd have been sure of his Side: But his Orders were to remain in his Camp, and hinder the Rebels from passing the River.

In the mean time, *Moradbax*, who conducted the Rear-guard of both Armies, mov'd with his Troops to the Water-side. His natural Fierceness and Valor, never allow'd him to deliberate long upon any Point. He threw himself into the River with an Intrepidity which very much animated his Troops. *Oramgzeb's* Cannon cover'd the Men who were up to the Waste in the Stream, and dispersed the Enemy, who were posted on the opposite Bank. The bottom of the River *Ugen* is very Stony, and the *Indian* Soldiers who at that time march'd barefooted, were sadly mangl'd in their treading over sharp and pointed Shelves. *Cassam-Cham* who held a private Intelligence with *Oramgzeb*, might easily have hinder'd the Passage of the Two Brothers; but his Artillery was not in a readiness; 'tis even said, that he took care to have the Powder and Shot hid the Night before. *Jacont-Sing* alone, perform'd his Duty. He disputed the Passage of the River with extraordinary Valor;

but nothing was able to resist the Efforts of *Moradbax*. The Courage of that Prince increas'd still more, when he saw *Cassam-Cham* and his Troops turn Tail. He saw there was no great Danger of the Victory, when he had only the *Rajas* Troops to deal with. In Effect, the *Indian* General, who saw himself forsaken by his *Mahometan* Colleague, left 'em the Field, but made a brave Retreat, having not above Five Hundred Horse to attend him.

This gallant Prince retir'd after his Defeat, to his own Territories, not daring to appear at Court. The Loss of so many *Rageputes* his Subjects, was very prejudicial to his State. In the mean time *Oramgzeb* drew great Advantages from so complete a Victory. He became Master of all the Baggage, and all the Artillery of the Enemy. There's to be seen at this Day, on the Banks of the River where the Battel was Fought, a *Mosque*, and a * *Saray*, erected by *Oramgzeb*. This *Mogol* intended one as a Monument of his Glory, and the other as a mark of his Piety.

* *A House for entertaining Travellers*

The News of the deplorable Overthrow, struck a Terror in the Court of *Jacont-Sing*, as well as in that of *Cha-Jaham*. The *Rajas* Wife, a Princess of the Blood of *Rana*, who boasted of being descended from *Porus*, was in Distraction at the Account of her Husbands Defeat. As he was riding up to the Cittadel, which serv'd him as a *Seraglio*, the Princess gave Orders to shut the Gates against him. No, 'tis not possible, said she, either that *Jacont-Sing* shou'd be beaten, or that ever he shou'd appear before my Eyes after a Defeat. If he has not gain'd the Victory, added she, he is certainly Dead. He never cou'd be so mean as to

survive his Disgrace. And if he has lost his Life, either by his Enemies, or by his own Hands, what remains for me to do but to follow him! Thus the disconsolate Princess vented her Grief. She had already prepar'd her Funeral Pile, whereon she intended to end her Days, according to the Custom of the *Rageputé* Wives. Her Mother took a deal of Pains to diswade her from this desperate Resolution. In fine, she cou'd not be prevail'd on to let the Palace Gates be open'd to her Husband, till she was assur'd that *Jacont-Sing* had Fought the last Battel by himself; and had not lost the Victory, but by the Treachery of *Cassam-Cham.*

They were yet more inconsolable at the Capital, upon this Defeat of the Imperial Army. As soon as *Cha-Jaham* had receiv'd an Account of it, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, he cry'd: Thanks to the Eternal God, who disposes me by Degrees to the Loss of my Crown! Then falling into a kind of fainting Fit, thy will said he O Lord, be done, 'tis but the just Chastisement of my Sins! I still deserve worse, then the Misfortunes with which you Afflict me. *Dara* had quite other Sentiments, upon the News of his Two Brothers passing the River *Ugen*, and the rout of his Fathers Army. Never was Rage exprest in so lively a Strain. He wrung his Hands, he stampt with his Feet, he burst into Invectives against *Cassam-Cham.* Then turning all his rage against *Mirza-Mula,* this said he to the Emperor, is the Traytor whom we must look on as the Author of all our Misfortunes. If he had not given up the Troops of *Oramgzeb,* which were under his Command, that Rebel-Son wou'd ne're have dar'd to come, and thus Insult his Father. Let his

Wives be Beheaded, and the absent Father Punish'd by the Death of his Children whom we have in Hostage. The Princes Orders had been executed, if *Cha-Jaham* had not interpos'd. The Emperor appeas'd the Fury of his Son, and alter'd his intended Revenge to a prudent Resolution of defending himself.

Oramgzeb in the mean-time, and *Moradbax* pufft up with the Success of their Victory, look'd on themselves as Invincible. The whole Discourse in their Armies consisted of vain Assurances of further Conquests. *Oramgzeb,* said they, will lead us into *Persia,* after he has subdued the *Indies,* and from *Persia* we shall March into *Turkey.* By such like Discourses given out industriously in the Army, *Oramgzeb* animated his Troops. The Soldiers were likewise assur'd of a Second Victory against *Dara,* and that *Oramgzeb* had in the Imperial Army above Thirty Thousand *Mussulmans* at his Devotion. This Affectation of spreading Reports in both Camps to the Advantage of *Oramgzeb,* and of giving him alone all the Glory of the Victory, created some Suspicions in the Mind of *Cha-Abas* the faithful Eunuch of *Moradbax.* He was at last convinc'd that the elder of the Two Brothers employ'd all his Labor and Industry for himself alone, and that he impos'd on the credulous Temper of his Master. He took a Resolution hereupon, which he never imparted to *Moradbax.* He purpos'd to assassinate *Oramgzeb* as he came according to Custom, to make his Court to the Prince, and Salute him as his King. It is not known by what Magick *Oramgzeb* came to penetrate into the Designs of *Cha-Abas;* This only is certain, that he came no more as he us'd to do into his Bothers Tent,

and that he contented himself with sending thither *Sultan Mahumud* his Son. 'Twas a Maxim with *Oramgzeb* to be as careful in dissembling the mistrust one has of an Enemy, as cautious in avoidin his Ambushes. Thus without seeming to have discover'd *Cha-Abas's* Conspiracy, he sent to let his Brother know, that 'twas necessary without losing time, to March the Two Armies towards *Agra*.

During the March of the Two Brothers, all the *Male-contents* of the Court, and almost all the Friends of *Oramgzb*, came in and joyn'd the Conferderate Princes. They who continued near the Emperor, staid behind only to give *Oramgzeb* Intelligence of the Designs of his Father. Thus *Cha-Jaham* betraid of every Side, forsaken of his bravest Generals, and just upon the brink of loosing all, by the Violence of Two of his Children, took a desperate Course, which he was doubtless advis'd to by some Friend to *Oramgzeb*. He devolv'd his Authority on *Dara*. He order'd his People at least for some time, not to acknowledge any other Soveraign but his eldest Son. This false step was the utter Ruin of the Father, and lost his Son the Crown. A great many of the Nobility, who had hitherto stood firm to the Interests of *Cha-Jaham*, refus'd Obedience to *Dara*; and the People discharg'd of the Allegiance which they had Sworn to the Old Emperor, shew'd a great deal of indifference for the New. Some Historians report that *Dara* caus'd his Father to be arrested, as soon as he had demised his Authority on him; but *M. Manouchi*, at that Time an Officer under the Prince, assures us, he treated *Cha-Jaham* with all the Respect, and all the Submission imaginable.

This in a manner general desertion of the Great,

and coldness of the People for the Court Party, did not obstruct *Dara's* raising a Hundred Thousand Horse, and Fifty Thousand Foot. He took a Hundred Pieces of Cannon out of the *Arsenal* of *Agra*, the least of which were Twelve Pounders. All the Officers belonging to the Artillery were *Europeans*. He had Sixty *War-Elephants* equipt with all their Mountings, each carrying his Field Piece. Five Hundred Camels were provided for the Princes Baggage. With this vast Army. *Dara* march'd out of the Capital to take the Field, upon the Fourteenth of *May*, in the Year 1656. To see this prodigious Number of Troops extend themselves quite out of Sight, in the vast Plains about *Agra*, one wou'd have thought that the Prince might force Victory to declare in Favor of him. The more Intelligent judg'd otherwise. They knew there was a Secret Leaven of hatred for the General, in most of the principal Members of this great Body. *Dara* alone had not the least Apprehension of his Misfortunes. The high Conceit he had of his own Merit, wou'd not suffer him to entertain a Thought of any one's want of Fidelity to him. Yet the time was just now at Hand, in which the great Men of the Empire had an opportunity to revenge the Dishonours done 'em by *Cha-Jahams* debauching their Wives, and the bitter Ralleries of *Dara*. To complete his Misforture *Sultan Chacu*, the Son of *Dara*, deceiv'd by the Councils of *Jasing*, continu'd his Pursuit of *Cha-Chuia* into the Heart of *Bengal*, and put it absolutely out of his Power to rejoyn his Father. The young Prince had all the choice Troops of the Empire in his Army, while that of *Dara* was for the most part compos'd of

New *Levies*, and Officers of suspected Fidelity.

It's Impossible to describe the stirrings of *Cha-Jaham's* Soul, in the last Embraces of this beloved Son. I was in hopes, said he, to have left you the Kingdom in Peace at my Death. Heaven has order'd it otherwise. Go my Son, go, Crown your self with your own Hands. If the Almighty is touch'd by my Prayers, he'll turn on my Rebel-Children the Curse of their Father, and bestow upon a Dutiful Son, all the Blessings he Deserves. *Begom-Saeb* accompany'd with Tears, her last Adieus to her Brother. Thus departed the Prince from the Fortress of *Agra*, to go and put himself at the Head of his Army. Never was there seen in the *Indies* a more Magnificent Scene of War. The Camp form'd upon the Plan of a great City, had it's distinct Streets and *Bazars*. The Imperial Tents of the richest Gold-brocade, were pitch'd in the Centre of the Camp, and the magnificent Pavillions of the Officers and Nobility, at convenient Intervals in a vast Circle, overlook'd the Huts of the common Soldiers, and form'd a charming Prospect. *Dara* would have waited in this Post, the junction of his Sons Troops; but he was inform'd that the Enemy advanc'd with a Celerity, which oblig'd him to decamp. Never was any thing more August, than the March of this mighty Body. As it mov'd in one intire Piece, part of it cross'd over Hills, and part over Valleys at the same time. The steeld points of their *Javelins* glistering in the bright Day, and playing as the Squadrons moved, resembled the Face of the Sea, when the Sun-beams breake upon it's curling Waves. They march'd Four Days in this beautiful Order, and at last arriv'd at the Banks of the River *Chambal.*

Here the Prince resolv'd to wait the coming up of his Son, or his Enemy. He fortify'd the Banks of the River with all his Artillery, and intrench'd himself so strongly, that 'twas almost impossible to Attaque him. In the mean time the Rebels appear'd on the opposite Bank. *Dara* did not think fit to pass the River and engage 'em. The Ground as he cou'd see on the other Side the *Chambal* was uneven and hilly, so that his *Elephants* must be useless, and his numerous Troops want space to extend themselves.

Oramgzeb, on the other Hand, did not think it possible to pass the River, in the Face of the Army more numerous then his own, and retrench'd on the other Side. He judg'd it better to have recourse to Stratagem. He assembl'd the principal Officers of his Army, and represented to 'em the Danger that must unavoidably attend their differring a Battel. He added, that if *Soliman-Chacu* shou'd joyn his Father, there was no other Remedy but a Retreat. He conjur'd 'em to be always ready at the shortest warning to follow him, and pass the River at any Hour of the Day, to Attacque the Enemy. This Speech which was quickly communicated to *Dara's* Camp, kept him in continual Alarms. Meantime the industrious *Oramgzeb* negotiated privately with the *Raja Champet*, an old Enemy of the Court, for the obtaining a Passage through his Territories, in order to cross the River Twelve Leagues higher than his Brothers Camp, in a Place where it was fordable. The *Raja* comply'd with all his Demands of *Oramgzeb*. The later detach'd only about Eight Thousand of his Troops by unfrequented ways, over Mountains and Forrests. When they had secur'd the Pass, the remaining part of the Army

of the Two Brother Decampt in the Night, and march'd through the *Rajas* Country to joyn 'em. The News of his so suddain a departure of the Enemy surpris'd *Dara*. However, he had still time enough to redress the Evil. Had he march'd with Expedition, he might have found the Army of the Two Brothers, Fatigu'd by a long March on the Banks of the River, and easily have defeated the Soldiers, still dopping Wet, out of their Ranks, and in some sort of Confusion. This was indeed what *Dara* had determin'd. But *Calil-Cham* found specious Pretences for getting himself an Order, to go and Fight the Two Brothers at the Place of their Passage.

Dara, who with all the Bravery Imaginable, had not the least Experience in War, and who with all his Wit and fine Parts, was too Sincere in his own Nature to be mistrustful of others, yielded to the pernicious Councils of his bitterest Enemy. *Calil-Cham* acted all along in Concert with *Oramgzeb*; accordingly that Traytor gave him an opportunity of passing the River, and intrenching in the Mountains, till he was joyn'd by *Moradbax*. 'Tis even said, that *Oramgzeb* and *Calil-Cham* had a private Interview in a neighboring Forest, and that they agreed upon Measures for the Ruin of *Dara* and his Party. This at least is Certain, that there appear'd ever after between the Head of the Rebels and *Dara's* first General, such an understanding as cou'd not possibly be regulated without a personal Interview.

Ram-Sing the Second General in *Dara's* Army, and Chief of those brave *Indian Rageputes*, who never pay Obedience but to a *Raja* of their own Nation, was for giving the Enemy Battel with-

out loss of time, and forcing *Oramgzeb* in his Retrenchments before he cou'd look about him. *Calil-Cham* in a Council of War magnify'd the Difficulties of so dangerous an Enterprise. I have view'd the Enemies Camp, said he, and found the Avenues to it Impracticable. Let's wait a while, added he, till either Famine or ill Conduct obliges 'em to quit their Post, and then we may Fight 'em to Advantage. The Traytor was hearkned to, and the Advice of the faithful *Ram-Sing* pass'd unregarded.

The Troops of the Two Brothers had by this time march'd out of their *Defile*, and appear'd in the open Field; and *Dara* was determin'd to begin the Attaque. But once more did the Partizans of *Oramgzeb* find Means to check the Ardor of this gallant Prince, and by pernicious delays, cool the Courage of his Troops. They likewise advis'd him to bring all his Artillery into one Line, in the front of his Army. *Calil-Cham* had secur'd the Captain of the Canoneers in his Interest, and order'd him not to Obey any Orders but his own. In the mean time *Oramgzeb* and *Moradbax* advanc'd with a good Countenance. Before they were come within Cannon-shot, *Calil-Cham* made a terrrible Fire, but without any Effect. The Smoak and Dust hinder'd *Dara*, who was mounted on his *Elephant*, from perceiving the Treachery of his General, who was then posted in the Van-guard, to sustain, as he said, the first shock of the Enemy. After this vain discharge of the Artillery, the Enemy for the first time fired Three Cannon Shot, which was the Signal agreed on between *Oramgzeb* and *Calil-Cham*, to let the later know that the Rebel-Army was ready. In Effect, the Traytor riding up to

Dara who commanded the main Body, now Sir, said he, is the time to Conquer an Enemy, already in a manner dispers'd by your Cannon. They want Artillery, added he, for they have not hitherto answer'd us, with any more than Three Cannon Shots. You need but just shew your self to obtain a complete Victory.

The manner of forming an Army in the *Indies*, is very different from that which is practis'd in *Europe*. It is not made up of small Squadrons, commanded by a great many Officers, or of Battalions which are easily detach'd to change their Station but of vast unweildly Bodies, under the Command of a single Officer, which consequently must stand and fall together, and can never be separated in time of Action, to run where there's the most pressing Occasion. The Two Armies were drawn up in the following manner. *Dara* commanded the main Body of his own Army, and his Division was opposite to that of *Oramgzeb*, who led the Centre of the Rebel-Army. *Ram-Sing* with his *Rageputes* made Head against *Moradbax*, who commanded the Right Wing of the Confederates, and *Calil-Cham* with the great Body under his Command, oppos'd *Sultan Mahamud*, whom his Father had trusted with the Left Wing of the Rebel-Army. This was the Order in which *Dara's* Troops began the Engagement. *Calil-Cham* gave Orders to the Artillery not to Fire, while the Imperialists were advancing towards the Enemy. The Body commanded by *Dara* made the greatest dispatch, and presented it self before *Oramgzeb* with terrible Shouts. The Soldiers let Fly their Arrows against Enemy, whom they look'd on as pretty well shatter'd already by their Cannon. *Oramgzeb* let 'em come on, and without precipitating his Fire, gave 'em,

at a due distance, such a Salute with his Cannon, small-Arms, and Arrows, that vast heaps of Slain were seen to fall near *Dara's* Person. This Slaughter did not in the least dismay the Prince. He Advanc'd furiously into the midst of *Oramgzeb's* Squadrons, broke through to the very Batteries, with which his Troops were most annoy'd, and putting the *Portuguese* Gunners to Flight, turn'd all his Efforts against the great Body, with which *Oramgzeb* was encompass'd. Never was there seen more Intrepidity of one Side, and more Valor on the other. *Dara* by his Gesture and Voice, call'd back about him, such of his Men as a desire of Booty, had carry'd too far from their Posts, and *Oramgzeb* keeping his Battalion still Compact, expected his Brother unmov'd, and ready to take Advantage of the least Fault, into which his Vivanity might hurry him. 'Tis said that being resolv'd to overcome, or Dye on the very spot where he was Attacqu'd, he took care to have Shackles clapt to his *Elephants* Feet, such as are usually fastn'd to 'em when they are to March a slow Pace. Thus depriving himself of the means of escaping by Flight, he made his Prayer to Heaven with that Air of Piety, which even in the greatest Dangers was never wanting to him. He exhorted the principal Officers about him, to Sacrifice their Lives for the Interests of their Religion. The Historians of the Country say, that *Dara*, by a miraculous Providence, alter'd his Mind, quitted the Design of attaquing his Brother, and turn'd his Fury another way. 'Tis certain, had the Prince prosecuted his first Design, that *Oramgzeb* had been taken, and the War ended.

Calil-Cham who made but faint Attaques against *Mahamud*, and had notice continually brought him of the State of Affairs between Two Bro-

thers, was inform'd of the Danger to which *Oramgzeb* was expos'd. To rescue him from it, he sent Word to *Dara*, that his best Officers were Kill'd; that the Son of *Oramgzeb* Fought like a Lyon; that he had Slain with his own Hands, the bravest of the Imperial Commanders; and that to deliver his Father from Danger, he was now ready to fall upon him with his victorious Troops. Upon this false Notice, *Dara* let go his Prize, suffer'd *Oramgzeb* to escape, and made hast to meet *Mahamud* whose Men were still Fresh. They had been but feebly assaulted by *Calil-Cham*.

Moradbax was attacqu'd with much more vigor by the brave *Ram-Sing*. That *Raja* follow'd by his *Rageputes*, had broke through the Van-guard of the *Mogol* Prince, and at last came near enough to *Moradbax*, to Fight him Hand to Hand. The later was mounted on his War *Elephant*, and seated on a kind of a Throne open on every Side, the better to give his Orders to all about him. The *Indian* who conducted the Princes *Elephant*, was Slain by a Bow-shot. *Moradbax* took his Place, guided the *Elephant* with one Hand, and with the other discharg'd his Arms at *Ram-Sing*, who made furious Attacques upon him. The *Mogol* Prince receiv'd Three Shots in the Face, which yet hapned only to scratch the Skin a little, whereupon the *Raja* whose Quiver was emptyed, and who cou'd not come up close enough to his Enemy, leapt from his Horse with a Design, to stick the Princes *Elephant* under his Belly. This rash Design cost *Ram-Sing* the Life. *Moradbax* first pierc'd him with a Dart and laid him in the Dust. Then his *Elephant* grasping the *Indian* Prince with his Trunk, dash'd his Head to the Ground, trampled him under his Feet, and finish'd the Work. The *Rageputes* dismay'd at this Sight, and quitting the

Field upon the Death of their General, occasion'd the loss of the Battel. *Dara* endeavor'd in vain to rally 'em. The *Indian* Soldiers know no Voice but that of their own *Rajas*. These Runaways publish'd through the whole Empire, the intire Defeat of the Imperial Army.

Dara had still Troops enough left, even after the Desertion of the *Ragèputes* to have won the Day. He renew'd the Fight, and made furious and successful Attacques upon *Mahamud*. *Calil-Cham* who now fought under the Princes Eye, made some Efforts, the better to conceal his Treachery. *Mahamuds* Squadron was entirely broke, when *Oramgzeb* and *Moradbax*, who now had no more Enemies to deal with, fell down with their united Force upon *Dara*. The Troops of the Two Brothers, were not strong enough to resist him; they often lost Ground, and never regain'd it. In fine, *Moradbax* was put to Flight, and *Oramgzeb* scarce able to defend himself, when the Treacherous *Calil-Cham* by his pernicious Advice, blasted *Dara's* Hopes, and render'd all the Fruits of his valor useless. To Crown the Work said he, you have no more now to do, but to pursue the Two fugitive Brothers, and make 'em serve as Ornaments of your Triumph. Alight from your *Elephant*. You are too much expos'd to the Enemies Shot to escape the Danger of it long, call for a Horse, and let's Fly in Chase of the Enemy. The inconsiderate *Dara* took his Advice, not foreseeing the Consequences of it. Mounted on one of those *Persian* Horses, whose speed and Spirit is so famous, he rush'd forward and charg'd quite thro' the Enemy. *Oramgzeb* was startled at a Resolution, which in effect, secur'd him the Empire. *Dara's* Troops not seeing him mounted on his

Elephant, believed him Slain, and this thought chill'd their Blood. There was nothing now but Confusion in the Imperial Army. Like Clouds driven by an impetuous Wind, the Soldiers flew with a Swiftness which amaz'd the General. Then, but too late, the Prince perceiv'd the Treason of *Calil-Cham*. Pursue him, cries he, cut him in Pieces! But the Traytor was already got out of Danger. Follow'd by a great Squadron intirely devoted to his Service, he had gone over to *Oramgzebs* Side. The unfortunate *Dara*, who saw one of his Generals Slain, the other gone over to the Enemy, his Two Brothers superior in Force, by the dispersion of his Troops, and the best part of his Army routed, began now to think of a Retreat. He made it in better order than cou'd be expected from his little Experience in War. The Battle ended upon his going off, after having lasted Ten Hours. It begun about Seven in the Morning, and continu'd till Five in the Afternoon.

Oramgzeb seeing no enemy in the Field, seis'd the Tents and Baggage of the Imperial Army. Never was the Dissimulation and profound Policy of this Prince, exercis'd to more Advantage than in his moderate use of the Victory. He reserv'd *Daras* Tent, and the Imperial Quarters for his Brother *Moradbax*. For his own part he retir'd to a little Hutt, where he continu'd a long time in Prayer. Sometime after he came to his Brothers Tent, with the air of a Person Inspir'd, and with the *Alcorn* in his Hand, and presented to him *Calil-Cham*. 'Tis to Heaven, to you, My Lord, and to this faithful Friend that we owe the Victory. I have just offer'd up my Prayer of Thanks to the Almighty for restoring the Doctrin of his

Prophet, by this defeat of his Enemies. I now Prostrate my self before my Master. 'Tis you Sir, by an unparalell'd valor with fateagu'd Troops, have dispers'd the numerous Army, with which *Dara* made Head against you. Thery is nothing further for me to do, but to desire your Favor, for the brave and Faithful *Calil-Cham.* 'Tis he, by considerable Services, has render'd prosperous the beginning of your Reign; 'Tis he that best deserves under you the whole Administration of that Empire, which you are now going to Possess. As for me Sir, my Fate's already decided. As soon as a Third Victory Establishes you on the Throne which you so well deserve, I shall retire to Reign over my Passions in solitude, while you restore the true Religion to its former Splendor in *Indoustan.*

Thus it was *Oramgzeb* Spoke in Publick; but in Private he secur'd him Friends of all Hands. He gave *Calil-Cham* as a Minister and Confidant to *Moradbax*, only to be better inform'd of the secret Designs of his Brother, and to be able to Govern him. He was busie Night and Day in dispatching Couriers to his Correspondents at Court, to the *Vice-Roys* of *Indoustan*, and to the Governors of important Places.

But *Oramgzeb's* principal care was to Write to the Two Generals, who commanded under *Soliman-Chacu*, to inform 'em of the Victory of *Moradbax*, (these were his Words) and the Flight of *Dara.* He order'd 'em to put that Prince to Death, or bring him in Chains to his Camp. *Jasing* and *Dalil-Cham*, were as we have already said the Two Generals who under *Dara's* Son had pursu'd the Fugitive *Cha-Chuia*, into his Government of *Bengal.* *Jasing* was the *Raja*, whom *Dara*

had formerly insulted, and call'd *Musitian*. As to *Dalil-Cham* he was a mercenary Soul, always ready to Embrace the strongest Side. However, neither of 'em was so wicked, as to Stain their Hands with the Blood of a *Mogol* Prince, or deliver him up to his Enemy. They took a more moderate Course. They advis'd the unfortunate *Chacu* to retire into the Mountains if he wou'd save his Life. The Prince was oblig'd to follow the Advice of those Two base Deserters of the better Cause. He took his way with a small Guard, towards the *Raja* of *Suinagar*, always Faithful to the Emperor. 'Tis said, that the Two Generals were likewise villanous enough to get him rob'd on his Journey, and divide the Spoil. In fine, the young *Sultan* arriv'd almost without Attendance in the Mountain Kingdom, while the Generals march'd to Joyn the Army of the Two Brothers.

Dara in the mean time, who with much ado, had escap'd the Fury of the Rebels, came about Nine a Clock at Night to the Gates of *Agra*. He wou'd not venture to stay in that Place, for fear the Enemy shou'd come and Beseige it, and so shut him up. Besides, the Shame of presenting himself to his Father a Fugitive, and Vanquish'd, prevail'd over his affectionate Nature, and hinder'd him from going to the Palace. As he was naturally Eloquent, the manner of his describing his Misfortunes was extreamly moving. Sometimes the violence of his Grief drowned his Reason, and made him talk extravagantly. He was heard to break out into Invectives, unworthy so great a Prince, *Dara* therefore chose to Write Two Letters, one to *Cha-Jaham*, and another to *Begom-Saeb* his dear Sister, which drew

Tears from the Emperor and the Princess. *Cha-Jaham* was no less affected with his Sons Disgrace, than with the Misfortunes of the Empire. He sent one of his most Faithful Eunuchs to the Prince, to comfort him, who among other things flatter'd *Dara* with the Hopes which yet remain'd, from the Troops of *Chacu*; for they were still Ignorant at Court of his Misfortunes.

The Emperor exercis'd a great Violence on himself in Favor of his Son. In spight of the avaritious Passion which then Lorded him; he sent to the disconsolate Prince, Ten *Camels* laden with Roupies of Gold and Silver, for making new Levies. He advis'd him to make the best of his Way to *Dely*, wait the Arrival of *Sultan Chacu*, and there assemble his Troops. He added that he shou'd find in the Stables of the Fortress, *Elephants* and *Horses* enough for furnishing him with a new Equipage. Thus *Dara* departed from Court, without visiting his Father, and saw himself oblig'd to go and beg the Protection of the People, and move the Grandees to Compassion by the Sight of his Misfortunes, he who had embitter'd 'em against him by his Contempts in the time of his Prosperity.

The prince perceiv'd but too plainly, when he came to *Dely*, what a Coldness this reverse of his Fortune has begot in the Hearts of the People. The Governor of the Cittadel corrupted as 'tis said, by the promises of *Oramgzeb*, refus'd him Eutrance. All *Dara's* Rants and Threatnings serv'd but to render him more untractable. He did not think it safe to put himself in the Power of a Haughty, Revengeful and Unfortunate Prince. The Fugitive was therefore oblig'd to go and seek at *Lahore* a Retreat, which

was refus'd him at *Dely*. There at a great distance from the Enemy, he began to pick up the scatter'd Remains of him Army. The common People, who Lov'd him better than the Great, listed cheerfully in his Service, but he wanted Generals. Indeed *Dara* alone might have sufficed for the commanding his own Armies; the Battel he had lately lost gave him a great deal of Experience in War; and he wou'd certainly have supply'd the rest by his Valor and fine Parts. In short, if downright fighting and conquering wou'd have done, *Dara* might still have Reign'd; But he had to deal with all the Artifices or *Oramgzeb*, and he was too open in his own Nature to match this Brother of his in the way of Intreague, too free from mistrust to discover his Snares, and too unpractis'd to defeat 'em. Upon the Eighth of *June* 1656, *Oramgzeb* and *Moradbax* made their victorious Armies advance to the Suburbs of *Agra*. Some Days after the Battel, they had come and Incampt within Two Miles of the Capital, near the Imperial Gardens.

Oramgzeb's first care, was to send to *Cha-Jaham* his Father, one of his most Faithful Eunuchs, to make him Protestations of Obedience. This Messenger was particularly directed to throw all the blame of the Two Brothers proceedings, upon the evil Administration of *Dara*, and upon his abuse, with regard to them, of the Power given him by the Emperor. Your Sons, Sir, says the Eunuch, have not enter'd into this War, from Ambition or a want of Duty. They know how to Honor and Respect you as their Master and Father. What oblig'd 'em to take up Arms, was their finding a Tyrant instead of a Brother in your eldest Son. This Sir, was the only Reason

of their arming, on the uncertain News of your Death. You Live, and Heaven who has restor'd your your Health, restores you the Obedience of Two of your Sons. They have sent me hither expressly to assure you of their Submission, and acknowledge you for their Emperor. 'Tis to Revenge your Blood, that they have Conquer'd; and therefore are now come to lay themselves with their Laurels at your Majesties Feet. Judge then Sir, of the difference you ought to make between Two Sons worthy of your Esteem, for their Valor, and for their Victories, and a Son universally hated, whom Heaven seems to Punish for his Pride. *Cha-Jaham*, answer'd the Eunuch as became the dignity of an Emperor, but with the Moderation of a Prince, ready to be invested by a numerous Army, whose Generals it was not safe to Incense. Assure my Children, said he, to the Eunuch of my Affection for 'em. Their past Disobedience has not yet intirely cancell'd it. I shall still continue it if they render themselves Worthy. Let 'em disband their Armies, and come hither to implore a Pardon, which I sincerely promise 'em. They shall be made sensible of the Clemency of a Father, who has a Right to Punish 'em.

In the mean time, the Emperor who knew *Oramgzeb* too well to trust to his Protestations, was thinking to retire from *Agra*. The Rebels understood their own Interest better than to let their Prey escape. They posted Troops in all the Avenues to the Town, and suffer'd no Body to stir out of it. 'Tis certain if the People of the *Indies* had had the Spirit of those of *Europe*, *Agra* might have held out a Seige long enough, to give *Dara* time to make up a new Army, and come to

the Relief of his Father. But the *Indians* accustom'd to Servitude, are very little concern'd at a change of Masters. They think it enough to Obey without examining the Pretentions of him whom they do Obey. Thus the only Ressource left *Cha-Jaham*, was to decoy his Two Sons into the Cittadel without a Guard, by the lure of a paternal Affection, and stop their Rebellion by taking away their Lives. *Oramgzeb* was too crafty to be taken in so gross a Snare. However, he caus'd a Report to be spread in *Agra*, that he intended to come and humble himself before his Father. By this means he lull'd the Citizens, and prevented the least Commotions on their Part. In the mean time, he defer'd his Visit to the Emperor from Day to Day, and tamper'd privately with all the Officers of the Court, who yet retained any Sense of Duty for his Father. As soon as he had made himself Master of the dispositions of the People, he sent his son *Mahamud* into the City of *Agra*, to block up the Cittadel of that Side, while *Moradbax* invested it without. The rendition of *Agra*, released the Wives and Children of *Mirza-Mula*, who had been kept there as Hostages.

Cha-Jaham cou'd easily perceive from one of the lofty Towers of his Palace that the Cittadel was invested. The Urgency, and a Sense of his Injuries, rous'd up in him, that warlike Disposition which he had discover'd in his youthful Days. He order'd his Artillery to be planted on the Ramparts, and fir'd upon the Rebels. The Cannon of the *Seraglio* did little or no Execution on the Side to the Country, and beat down only a few Houses in the Town, so that the Army of *Moradbax* advanc'd almost without any Loss, to

to the Foot of the Wall. However, the Cannon kept roaring for Three Days and Three Nights without Intermission. At last *Oramgzeb*, who had staid in his Camp about Two Miles from *Agra*, counterfeiting an Indisposition, sent the same Eunuch to pay his Father a Second Compliment. He beg'd the Emperors Pardon for the boldness of his Troops. Their advancing so close to the Cittadel was all against his Orders. He desir'd his Father that he'd be pleas'd to give *Sultan Mahamud* leave to wait on him, and make Submissions in his Name. He added, that he hop'd his Health wou'd soon permit him, to pay him his Duty in Person. All this time *Mahamud* was raising a Battery to make a Breach in the Wall of the Imperial Palace. There was no possibility of preventing it's being laid in Rubbish, so *Cha-Jaham* comply'd with *Oramgzeb's* Respect, and permitted his Grand-child to enter the Fortress.

The Emperor had already provided the Presents, which he intended for *Mahamud*. 'Tis said they were of an inestimable Value. They were design'd as a lure to draw *Oramgzeb* himself into the Snare. The Young Prince by the advice of his Father, enter'd the Fortress; and having corrupted the Soldiers of the out most Guard, he became Master of that Post, without the least Resistance. He prest into the innermost Palace, follow'd by a great Body of Troops, and forc'd open the Royal Apartments. They put to the Sword without Distinction, all the Soldiers, Women, Slaves, and Eunuchs they met in their Passage. In fine, *Mahamud* coming up to *Cha-Jaham* himself, Sir, said he, your great Age renders you Incapable of reigning any longer. Finish the remainder of your Days in Peace, cloyster'd with

your Wives in those delicious Gardens, which you have adorn'd with so much Expence. We dont Envy you the Light of the Sun; but make a Cession to your Children, of a Place which you Dishonor. At these Words, the *Tartar* Women who serve the Prince in his Apartment, and are bred up to the use of Arms, gave a dismal Yell. Their Threats were all in Vain. The Emperor was forc'd to submit, and remove into the Garden Apartment without the compass of the Fortress.

The unfortunate *Cha-Jaham*, betray'd by his Sons, kept in durance by his Grand-child, reduc'd to a Pleasure-house, and surrounded only by Women, bethought him of a stratagem which had like to have lost *Oramgzeb* the Empire. He invited *Mahamud* to make him a Second Visit. As soon as he saw the Young Prince coming towards him, he threw himself at his Feet, and Spoke after this manner. Since I am to Unfortunate, as to be dethron'd by my Rebel Sons. Do you my Child take Heart, and snatch the Crown from those detestable Princes. I put it into your Hands, and sincerely judge you Worthy to wear it. The City of *Agra* is Subject to your Orders; your Troops have render'd you Master of it; Lay hold of so fair an Opportunity, and revenge my Wrongs, in freeing your self from the servitude of an ungrateful Father, who will not spare his own Offspring, after having dethron'd his Father. *Mahamud* was surpris'd at the Offers of *Cha-Jaham*. He stood in some suspence for a while, between his desires of the Throne, and the Risque he must run by obtaining it. But being a man of good Sense, he did not suffer himself to be dazled by a vain Hope. The Officers of his Army were all devoted to *Oramgzeb*; so that

were the Prince never so little unfaithful to his Father, the Troops wou'd certainly have abandon'd him. *Mahamud* therefore rejected this tempting offer, and contented himself with obliging the Emperor to deliver him the Keys of the Apartments and Treasures of the Palace.

In the mean time, the People touch'd with a Sense of Compassion, at the Misfortunes of *Cha-Jaham*, began to murmur at the Inhumanity of the Two Brothers, and particularly at the proceedings of *Oramgzeb*. They cou'd not reconcile that Piety which he made Profession of, with the Condition to which he had reduc'd his Father. That deep Politician soon put a stop to their Complaints by a Stratagem, which gave some colour of Justice to his Conduct. He counterfitted the Hand writing of *Cha-Jaham*, and forg'd a Letter as from the Emperor to *Dara*, advising that dear Son to March forthwith towards *Agra*, with a Body of his Troops; that *Oramgzeb*, and *Moradbax* wou'd er'e long be caught, in an Ambush he had prepar'd for 'em; that he had engag'd by dint of Wheedle the Two Rebels to make him a Visit; and had got Men ready to Assassinate 'em, the Moment they appear'd in his Presence. This Letter was deliver'd to *Oramgzeb*, in a Circle of the principal Officers of his Army, as though intercepted by his great Circumspection. Every Body was surpris'd at the Fathers Cruelty to his Children. They applauded the Prudence of *Oramgzeb*, who had till then forbore making *Cha-Jaham* a Visit, and turn'd against the Father all the Detestation, which they were beginning to conceive for the Sons.

Then it was that the Two Princes thought fit to dispose of public Employments. All Orders

were given jointly by the Two Brothers. The Treasures of *Cha-Jaham*, and the Revenues of the Empire were equally devided between 'em. The Liberality of *Oramgzeb* was boundless at this Time. He rewarded his Old, and made himself New Friends. *Cha-Stecam*, Unkle to the Two Princes, was made Governor of *Agra*. All was quiet in the Capital; and now the Two Armies began their March in Pursuit of *Dara*. The Friends of *Moradbax*, were of Opinion, that he ought not to follow *Oramgzeb* in this New Expedition. Your Presence will be necessary, said they, about *Agra*. 'Twill prevent all Commotions among the People. Stay then and dont engage your self in this dangerous Undertaking. The credulous Prince wou'd give Ear only to the fair Promises of his Brother, and suffer'd himself to be hurried on by the Impetuosity of his Temper, and his Desire of Glory. Accordingly the Two Armies took their Way towards *Dely*, still keeping the River in View. After some Days March, they Incampt near a Village called *Matura*.

Here upon a small Eminence there stood a stately Mosque, an Antient Monument of the Piety of the first *Mogol* Kings. *Oramgzeb* gave *Moradbax* hopes, that here in a few Days he shou'd be Crown'd Emperor. They halted therefore for some Days at *Matura*, the Country about it being the Fruitfullest and Pleasantest of all *Indoustan*. Never did *Oramgzebs* Caresses and respect for his Brother, appear more sincere than now. As the Two Camps were seperated by the River, but join'd by several Bridges, *Oramgzeb* went every Morning and Evening to his Brothers Tent, and was continually entertaining him upon the Magnificence of his Coronation. However, he

put it off from Day to Day upon divers Pretences. One while the magnificent Tents intended for that Ceremony were not quite Finish'd; another while the Presents design'd for him were not yet ready, sometimes the New Cloathing intended upon this Occasion for the whole Army, and at other times the Harness for the *Horses* and *Elephants*, gave delays. Moradbax waited without any Impatience, an Honour he look'd on as sure. In the mean time, the discipline of both was very different. In that of *Moradbax*, the Officers and Soldiers gave themselves up intirely to Pleasures. In the Princes Tent were continual Conforts, and Comedies; his People were wholly taken up with Dancing and Revels. Nor did they forbear the use of Wine, though contrary to *Mahomets* Law, but Drank even to Excess. In that of *Oramgzeb*, all was in a profound Silence. The Articles of War were observ'd in it with great Exactness. They went to Prayers, Morning, Noon and Night, as punctually as if they had been in a Town or City. They held frequent Councils. The principal Officers, Privy to the Designs of *Oramgzeb*, took all Occasions of putting the Soldiers in Mind of their great Happiness, under the good Orders and Piety of such a Prince. In fine, the Coronation of *Moradbax*, was appointed on the 15th. of *June*, 1656.

The Place design'd for the Ceremony was a large Plain near the Mosque of *Matura*. 'Twas surrounded with Tents of the Richest Gold Brocade. The whole Circumference was spread over with those noble stain'd Callicoes, in the Nature of a Canopy, supported by Silk Cords, to Shade the Assembly from the heat of the Sun. Over against the Mosque was a Theater erected,

on which *Moradbax* was to receive the *Turban*, and Imperial *Sabre* from the Hands of the *Cassi*, or Head of the Religion. All these preparations hinder'd *Moradbax* from suspecting the Designs of his Brother. The evening before the Day, on which the Ceremony was to be perform'd, *Oramgzeb* feigning a slight Indisposition, invited *Moradbax* to his Tent, to consult the *Astrologers* upon the Fortune of the Day, appointed for the Coronation. In vain did *Cha-Abas* that wise Eunuch, endeavor to perswade his Master, that the worst was to be fear'd from this artful Brother. The unfortunate Prince suffer'd himself to be carry'd away by his evil *Genius*, and wou'd have his own way. He enter'd his Brothers Camp, attended only by *Cha-Abas*, and some few Officers of his Army. Scarce had he pass'd the River, when *Ibrahim-Cham* troubl'd at the Disastre which this poor Prince was running into, ventur'd to seize the Reins of his Bridle, and spoke to him after this manner. Whether do you run Sir, and what Planet conducts you to *Oramgzebs* Quarters? I am running to a Crown, answers *Moradbax*, and from his Hands I am proud to receive it. At these Words the virtuous *Ibrahim* turn'd about the Princes *Horse*, and retir'd with Tears in his Eyes. *Moradbax* was offended at the hardiness of the Man, and intoxicated by his Ambition, proceeded in his Way to his Brothers Quarters. The *Cassi* receiv'd *Moradbax* upon his Arrival at the Tent of *Oramgzeb*, and made htm a Complement which had been sufficient to give him a foreboding of his approaching Misfortune. Your Arrival said he has been very auspicious Sir, Pray God, your Return be as happy! Scarce had he spoke these Words, when *Oramgzeb* came forth to

receive his Brother, attended by the principal Commanders of his Army. Never were Embraces more tender in appearance, nor ever Respect more profound then that he paid to *Moradbax*. *Oramgzeb* seated his Brother in a Chair of State. He himself beat off the Flies which incommoded him, and wip'd the Sweat from his Face with a Handkerchief. During the whole Conversation which lasted a long time, he never gave *Moradbax* any other Title than that of Master, or Lord, or Soveraign. A Bath of Rose-water was presently prepared for him, and a noble Supper was serv'd up soon after. This it seems was the first time, that ever *Oramgzeb* permitted the use of Wine at his Table. The Two Brothers Eat at a Table by themselves, while the Officers who attended *Moradbax* were treated by those of *Oramgzeb*, in Tents at some distance. *Cha-Abas* alone kept near his Master, and wou'd by no means leave him. The Joy of the Two Princes was enliven'd by Musick and Dancing. *Oramgzeb*, who never quitted that air of Piety, of which he made great Ostentation, drank nothing but Water, while *Moradbax* whose Principles were not so scrupulous drank Wine to Excess. His Drunkenness was quickly follow'd by a profound Sleep. *Cha-Abas* led him into the next Tent to let him take out his Nap. He seated himself at the Beds Feet, and disturb'd in his Thoughts at the danger of which he seem'd to have some foreboding, 'twas a long time before he cou'd close his Eyes. At last he begun to fall into a Slumber; when *Oramgzeb* coming in of a suddain awak'd him. The Eunuch was startled, and had like to have awaked *Moradbax*, by his Shrieks; but he was easie agen, when he saw that *Oramgzeb* was follow'd only by a Young Child.

'Twas the little *Azam*, son of M*ahamud*, then not above six Years Old. O*ramgzeb*, as if he intended only to play upon his Brother, who was fast asleep, promis'd his Grand-son some fine Toy, if he cou'd Steal away the Princes *Sabre* and *Poygnard* without waking him. The little Boy perform'd his part dextrously, and carry'd off M*oradbax's* Arms into the next Tent. At the same Instant half a dozen Soldiers of O*ramgzebs* Guard, bringing Chains in their Hands, design'd for the Prince and his Eunuch, awak'd M*oradbax* with the noise they made about his Bed, The brave *Mogol*, who as he open'd his Eyes, saw himself surrounded by a Companyof strange Fellows, reach'd forth his Hand for his *Sabre*, but cou'd not find it. He then gave a Scream, which the Soldiers stop'd, by clapping their Hands to his Mouth. O*ramgzeb*, who gave every Action of his a colour of Piety, cry'd out with his Hands lifted up to Heaven; Revenge the Law of M*ahomet*, on the contempts of an Intemperate Prince, secure his Person, who has render'd himself unworthy of the Throne by his Impiety! O*ramgzeb* was obey'd. The Prince was loaded with those very Chains of Silver, which his Brother had long before order'd to be made, and which he used to shew of M*ahamud* his Son to keep him in awe, As to the Eunuch he seiz'd without any Ceremony and clapt in Irons.

Two Elephants had been prepar'd and waited for the two Captives. They were shut up each in a Litter, such as are carry'd on the Backs of *Elephants*. 'Tis reported, that the Prince at parting said only these few Words to his Brother. *Are these the* O*aths you swore to me uponthe* Alcoran. Mean time the Prisoners were sent away, one ta-

king the Road towards *Dely*, the other that of *Agra*, under a like Guard.

This Stroak was given with so little Noise, and with so much Secrecy, that not a Word of it was Known in the Camp of *Moradbax*, or in the Tents where the Officers that follow'd him were entertain'd. The Musick play'd on, and was heard all that Night in the Tent of *Oramgzeb*, as if the two Brothers were still rejoycing. About break of Day the Soldiers of both Armies assembl'd in that vast Compass prepar'd for the Coronation of *Moradbax*. Orders were given for every body to come unarm'd, to prevent Quarrels which often happen upon such Occasions. All were expecting to see the Brother of *Oramgzeb* come and seat himself on the Royal Throne. They were deceiv'd in their Expectations. Some Squadrons of *Oramgzebs* Troops well arm'd, surrounded that great Ring on every side, and others posted expressly for the purpose, cry'd out aloud *long live the Emperor Oramgzeb*. At these Words the two Camp united, and as if they had all but one and the same Heart, they eccho'd, *long live the Emperor Oramgzeb*. Accordingly that Prince appear'd soon after on a kind of a Scaffold, prepar'd for his Brother, seated himself for a few Moments on the Throne, and then retir'd. What 's very surprising on the whole is that so sudden a Revolution caus'd not the least Disturbance nor Alteration in the Peoples Mind. Besides that the Temper of the *Indians* is easily reconcil'd to these kind of Changes, the Prudence of *Oramgzeb* had provided for all Consequences. He gain'd over to him the greatest Part of his Brothers Friends, and such as he could not prevail on, he secur'd another Way. Thus was the Empire

obtain'd by an Intreague the best concerted and the most artfully manag'd that ever was.

Oramgzeb threw off the Mask, when his Turn to reign was come. That *Faquir* who but a little before aspir'd to no more then leading a private Life near the Tomb of *Mahomet*, made himself be proclaimed Emperor, after depriving an aged Father, and a senseless Brother of their Liberty.

While *Moradbax* was on his Journey to the Citadel of *Dely*, *Oramgzeb* was preparing to pursue *Dara* to his Retreats at *Lahor*; he composed one Army out of that of *Moradbax* and his own, and kept then to a strict and uniform Discipline. *Dara* on his Side had already assembl'd above Thirty Thousand Men, *Patanes*, *Persians*, and *Indians*. The *Raja Surup-Sing* whose Territories border upon *Cachemire*, had brought him a Reinforcement of Four Thousand *Rageputes*. Small Succors indeed for so Potent a *Raja*. Therefore *Dara* in Hopes that *Surup-Sing*, would assist him with all his Forces, took a Daughter of the *Indian* Prince into the Number of his Wives. The Preparations made by *Dara* were not unknown to *Oramgzeb*. He chiefly apply'd himself to traverse the Allyances of his Brother and seduce his Friends.

Daut-Cham was one of the most faithful Officers in *Dara's* Service; he had the Command of a considerable Body of *Horse*, posted at the Passage of the River *Bear*, which *Oramgzeb* must necessarily cross in his way to *Lahor*. This was the only Obstacle the New Emperor was like to meet with in his March. *Oramgzeb* desparing to force that Post, had recourse to Artifice, and endeavor'd to gain over *Daut-Cham* by a Negotiation. He first made him fair Promises, and endeavor'd to corrupt him by views of Interest. *Daut-Cham*

was a Man of more Honour, than the *Persians* his Countrymen commonly are, when once transplanted to the *Indies*. He was Proof against the Attempts of *Oramgzeb*. The Emperor therefore went another way to Work, he labor'd to make the Officers suspected to his Prince, and by this means got a Person remov'd from this decisive Post, whom he was not able to Corrupt. He handed about by his *Emissaries* at *Lahor* a Letter under the Name of *Daut-Cham*, importing an underhand Intelligence between him and *Oramgzeb*. 'Tis the way of Princes who have once been drawn into Misfortunes by being over credulous, to grow afterwards mistrustful to an opposite Extream. Dara who had lost the last Bettel by his too great Confidence in *Calil-Cham*, ruin'd himself a Second time, by his unjust Suspitions of a faithful Friend. *Daut-Cham* was recall'd from his Post. Nor did the Prince care for having him any longer near his Person, and therefore dismiss'd him soon after for good and all, after giving him free leave under his Hand, to Side with what Party he pleas'd. Thus the Pass of *Bear* was open'd either by the Cowardice, or Treachery of him who was appointed to suceed Daut-Cham.

The formidable Army which *Oramgzeb* led by long Marches, into the Plains which extend themselves from the River *Bear*, to the City of *Lahor*, struck a Terror into the Troops of *Dara*. That Prince found himself at the same time abandon'd by his *Mahometans*, and disappointed of the Hopes he had of being quickly assisted by the *Indians* of *Surup-Sing*. He therefore thought he had now no other Game to Play, but that of flying into *Persia* for Refuge, and crossing like a Fugitive, those vast Countries which extend them-

selves beyond the *Indus* all along to *Candahar.* 'Twas doubtless his safest way; but ill Fortune till inseparable from *Dara,* wou'd not permit him to put that design in Execution. The Governors of *Multan,* and of *Cabul,* were devoted to the Interests of *Oramgzeb.* 'Twas too hazardous an Attempt to pass through their Countries, and expos'd him to the danger of being surpris'd and deliver'd up to his Rival.

Amidst this almost general Desertion, *Dara* had still one faithful Friend left, and one Fortress, which stood out for him. His Friend was an Eunuch, whom History mentions not by his proper Name, but by an appellation of Friendship, such as the Princes in the *Indies* usually bestow on their Favorits. He was call'd *the Flower of the Spring.* The Fortress which continu'd Faithful to the Prince, is known in *Mogol* by the Name of *Bakar.* 'Tis Scituate in a point, where the River *Sindy* swell'd by the Junction of Five other Rivers, opens it self a Channel equally deep and broad, and forms as 'twere a kind of a Lake. Here it was this faithful Eunuch quarter'd, as in a Place of Safety, the choicest of his Masters Troops. He transported thither from the Arsenal of *Lahor* Cannon, Powder, and other Warlike Stores. He shut himself up in it, proposing by a brave Resistance to divert the whole Power of *Oramgzeb,* while his Master endeavor'd to retire into *Persia.* The Resolution of this faithful Servant, gave some Hopes to *Dara.* Follow'd only by some of his Domesticks, he fell down the *Indus,* and after having undergon incredible Fateagues, he arriv'd at last in the Kingdom of *Guzuratte.* Here the Prince thought to find some interval of Repose, and some Assistance, while waiting a favourable Opportu-

nity to sayl for *Ormus*. *Oramgzeb* stuck close to the Heels of the Fugitive, and by forc'd Marches arriv'd in the Kingdom of *Multan*, when a sudden and unexpected piece of News oblig'd him to quit the Enterprise of *Bakar*, and return to *Agra*.

Cha-Chuia the first of the sons of *Cha-Jham*, who had quitted his Government to come and seize his Fathers Throne; freed from the Fears he had been under during the Pursuit of *Soliman Chacu*, was advanc'd a Second Time towards *Agra* with a considerable Army. As the Pretence of the first Expedition was to Revenge the supposed Death of *Cha-Jaham*, the pretence of this Second undertaking was to deliver the Emperor, and *Moradbax* his Brother, from the Captivity in which the Usurper kept 'em. As he met with no Obstacle in his March, he advanc'd with surprising Speed towards the Capital. 'Twas of equal Importance to *Oramgzeb* to pursue an Enemy already routed, and to prevent an Enemy who was in a Condition to act Offensively. 'Twas to be fear'd that *Dara* wou'd restore his broken Fortune, and that *Cha-Chuia* wou'd make use of a favorable Interval, and possess himself of the Capital. In this double Extremity *Oramgzeb* flew where the danger seem'd to be most pressing. After having trusted *Badar-Cham* with the Command of the Army, which was to Besiege the Fortress of *Bakar*, and pursu'd *Dara* to his last Retreat, he hasted towarde *Agra*, attended only by a small Guard. The danger he run in that Journy was the most pressing, and the least expected of any he had ever been hitheto expos'd to. The *Raja Jasing*, who more out of Fear than Love of *Oramgzeb*, had quitted the Party of *Sultan Chacu*, advanc'd towards *Multan*, with Ten Thousand *Rageputes* in order to joyn his Troops with those

of the Conqueror. But he was very much surpris'd, when he saw *Oramgzeb* attended by a slight Guard, making the best of his way to *Agra*. He fancy'd the New Emperor had been defeated, and that being put to flight by *Dara*, he was going to shelter himself in the Capital. The *Indians* Heart was chang'd at the Sight of a Prince beaten as he imagin'd, and a Fugitive, In this thought he form'd a design of sacrificing *Oramgzeb* to the liberty of *Cha-Jahami* to whose Service he had ever been devoted. *Oramgzeb* was very sensible of the danger he was in, but did not dream of escaping it by flight. He rode through the *Rajas* Troops with an Air of Intrepidity, which aw'd his Beholders. Then addressing himself to their Commander; our common Enemy said he, is routed. *Dara* after wandring up and down the Provinces of *Indoustan*, is gon to meet that Death in *Guzuratte* which he flies from, but cannot avoid. I have given over the pursuit of a Wretch now below my Anger, to go and Face another Rebel. *Cha-Chuia* already overcome by your Arms, is come to try his Fortune against us. Follow me Prince, and turn against your old Enemy the same Succors which you design'd me against *Dara*. These Words pronounc'd with a Air of Authority, begot in the *Raja* a respect for *Oramgzeb*. He consider'd, that the Death of *Oramgzeb* might be of Service to *Dara*, to whom he had a personal Quarrel, and therefore resolv'd to joyn with *Oramgzeb*. Thus by an effect of *Indian* Levity, *Jasing* went over with his *Rageputes* to that very Princes Side, whom but a few Moments before he intended to Assassinate.

Oramgzebs new Enemy was not to be despised. *Cha-Chuia*, wanted neither Bravery nor Conduct. He signaliz'd both these Qualities, and particularly

in the War which he made with *Oramgzeb.* He was inform'd that his Brother joyn'd by *Jasing,* whose Valour he had already but too much experience'd, was marching towards him with that great Army, which *Sultan Mahamud* commanded near *Agra* in the Absence of his Father. *Cha-Chuia* took a Resolution to intrench himself and expect the Enemy. The Ground he made choice of was commmodious and naturally fortify'd. 'Twas a large Village called *Caiva,* surrounded by Mountains and Forests. His Army was encamp'd upon the Banks of a broad Lake. 'Twas the only Place in Four Leagues round which afforded any Water. All the rest of the Plain on that side *Agra,* was a meer Sand without either Springs, Trees or Meadows. Here *Cha-Chuia* waited the coming up of *Oramgzeb.* He hoped to see his Brothers Army consume it self in the Neighbourhood of a Camp, which 'twas impossible for it to force. His Hopes were not Groundless. *Oramgzeb* appear'd before *Caiva* in the hottest Season of the Summer. 'Tis incredible what Fateagues he underwent by the precipitate Marches he made, and what distress his Army was in, when it came in view of the Enemy. Provisions for Horse and Man were wanting at the same time But the greatest Inconvenience of all was the want of Water, in a Climate parch'd up by the heat of the Sun. There was no other Remedy but bringing it on *Camels*. Backs from the *Ganges,* which was above Six Leagues distance from the Camp. This was a Toyl, which it had been impossible to Survive; if *Oramgzeb's* kind Stars had not assisted him in so pressing an Occasion.

Mirza-Mula having quitted his Captivity at

Orambagad, as soon as he heard that his Wives and Children had been deliver'd from theirs, brought to *Oramgeb* at the Camp of *Caiva*, the New *Levies* which he had made in *Decan*. The Arrival of so great a Captain, and so faithful a Friend, gave fresh Hopes to the New Emperor who was then almost in despair. In Effect, *Mirza-Mula* gave the Prince advice Worthy of his long Experience. He desir'd a report might be spread through the Camp, that it was not possible to subsist longer before *Caiva*; and that the next Day at furthest, they should be oblig'd to Decamp. This News was carry'd from the Camp of *Oramgzeb*, to that of *Cha-Chuia*. He believ'd it, without further Examination, and prepar'd to Attack the Rear of his Brothers Army. At break of Day, there was a profound Silence in the Camp of *Oramgzeb*. no. Fires lighted, the Tents all struck as if the army had actually Decampt. In fine, there appear'd on the Road to *Agra* some Troops, *Camels* and *Elephants* of Burthen, which in the *Indies* commonly bring up the Rear of their Armies. The feint succeeded to *Mirza-Mula's* Wish. Some of *Cha-Chuias* Soldiers sally'd from their Mountains and Forests, to pursue the Fugitive *Oramgzeb*. This Rear-guard being attack'd, fac'd about and repuls'd the first Squadrons. Fresh Troops ran in from each Side to the Assistance of the Attack'd and the Aggressors. In fine, both intire Armies appear'd in the Field. *Oramgzeb* march'd out of the Camp, which the Enemy thought he had abandon'd; And *Cha-Chuia* perceiv'd he was at last imprudently drawn to an Engagement, which he had so wisely avoided before. However he was not discourag'd, Then began the bloodiest Battel, that ever was

Fought in the *Indies*. The Victory was not owing to the Treachery or Desertion of either Side. Valor alone decided it. 'Twas astonishing that *Cha-Chuia* was so faithfully serv'd, that *Oramgzeb* cou'd never seduce any of his Generals. The Two Brothers single'd each other out in the Battel. The eldest was mounted on the famousest *Elephant* in the *Indies*. This furious Animal overturn'd all before him. Some Squadrons of the Princes Guard open'd him a way to the very Place where *Oramgzeb* Fought. The Fury with which the Soldiers of *Cha-Chuia* fell down upon those who guarded the New Emperor is scarce to be express'd. In fine, the Two Princes approach'd so near each other. that they were able to Fight it. Hand to Hand. They empty'd each his Quiver at the other when an unlooky Accident had like to have cost *Oramgzeb* his Life. I know not whether by chance or design, but the Girts of his *Elephant* gave way, and the Seat on which he was plac'd lean'd so much of one Side, that the Emperor was just ready to tumble over. *Oramgzeb* gave Ground and fell back a little with his *Elephant*. The impetuous *Cha-Chuia* eagerly pursu'd his Brother, without perceiving the Snare that was laid for him. There was a deep Pit dug expressly thereabouts, cover'd over very naturally with the Branches of Trees and Sand. The Princes *Elephant* flounc'd into it, and cou'd never after recover himself. Thus *Cha-Chuia* did from Necessity what *Dara* did in another Battel, by treacherous Advice. He quitted his *Elephant* and got on Horse-back. Hence proceeded the disorder of his Troops. As soon as they lost Sight of the Prince. their Hearts fail'd 'em, and a general Rout ensued. *Cha-Chuia* himself carry'd away with

the Stream, fled in his turn, and retir'd to the Town of *Elabas*.

Mean time the News of the defeat of *Oramgezb* was spread all over the City of *Agra*. Some Deserters of his Army, who saw him in danger, and ready to fall from his *Elephant*, spur'd away to the Capital with the News of his Death. This Report which lasted some Day's, gave the *Raja Jacont-Sing*, an Opportunity of running to the Relief of his Master *Cha-Jaham*, effacing the Shame of his former flight, and regaining the Esteem of the Princess his Wife. He made all imaginable hast to present himself before Cittadel of *Agra*, and free the Old Emperor from his Captivity. But all in vain. *Oramgzeb* after the Victory, left *Mirza-Mula* to pursue the vanguished, and took his way immediately for *Agra*. The Arrival of *Oramgzeb* dispers'd all Projects of Rebellion. Thus *Jacont-Sing* was oblig'd once more, to return to his own Territories, and bear the Reproaches of an imperious Wife.

Oramgzeb secur'd the Capital, while *Mirza-Mula*, who commanded in Chief the victorious Troops, compell'd *Cha-Chuia* to fly from Town to Town along the *Ganges*, for a Refuge which was refus'd him every where. At length after many windings and turnings, he intrench'd in a very inaccessible Post, where he assembl'd all the Remains of his Old Troops, and receiv'd the New *Levies*, which he had order'd to be made in *Bengal*. Here it was that he began to try the ways of Intreague against *Oramgzeb*, which *Oramgzeb* had so often made use of against others. He endeavor'd to seduce *Sultan Mahamud* from his Father, and bring him over to his Interests. He was [illegible] Ignorant of the many unkindnesses of

Oramgzeb to this young Prince. Besides the giving *Mirza-Mula* the Command of his Troops, he reduced *Mahamud* to a subaltern Post, and obliged him to receive Orders from another. The Prince, who became suspected to his Father, for no other Reason than his too great Merit and Bravery, dropt some Words in his Passion which came to the Ears of *Cha-Chuia*. He took Advantage of so favourable a Conjuncture, felt his Nephew's Pulse, and brought him over at last to his Party. Thus *Mahamud* quitted his Father's Camp, to go and fight under the Banners of his Uncle. He never gave so great Proofs of his Valour, as during the Times of his Revolt. This Desertion was of dangerous Consequence to the Interests of *Oramgzeb*. A great many Officers had already quitted their Posts, to follow the Next Heir, whom Virtue and Valour had rendered worthy of the Crown. This Disobedience of the Son might have prov'd fatal to the Father, if *Mirza-Mula* had not found means to remedy it. He sow'd so much Dissession between the Uncle and Nephew, that *Mahamud* disgusted at his committing a Crime of no Advantage to him, quitted, with some Inconstancy, the Party which not long before he embrac'd inconsiderately. The Repentance of *Mahamud* was not attended with a proportionable Return on the Father's side. *Oramgzeb* was instructed by his own Conduct in Regard to *Cha-Jaham*, how dangerous it is for a Soveraign to trust an untoward Son, who has once attempted to shake off the Yoak. He therefore resolv'd to get rid of a Prince, who might possibly treat him just as he had treated *Cha-Jaham* his Father. He invited him home by endearing Letters, and at the same time gave Or-

ders to *Mirza-Mula*, to send him away with a strong Guard. The young Prince was sensible of his Misfortune, when 'twas too late to remedy it. He made some Efforts, but all in vain to escape from his Guards and retire to *Sirinagar*, the usual Refuge of guilty or vanquish'd Princes. He was shut up in a covered Litter, and carry'd away to the Cittadel of *Guallier*, whither the unfortunate *Moradbax* was newly removed.

The securing so many Princes was *Oramgzeb* resolved to sacrifice to his Ambition, and the Defeat of his Two most formidable Enemies, gave him time to draw Breath. In this Interval of Tranquility he resolv'd in good earnest to take the Reins of the Empire, and get himself acknowledg'd Emperor by the People, as he was proclaim'd by the Army. To this end, he went to *Dely*, where he enter'd in Triumph admidst the Acclamations of the People. Here it was he establisht his Court in the magnificent Palace built by his Ancestors. Mony was coin'd in his Name with this Inscription. *I the King* Oramgzeb, *Conqueror of the World, have caus'd this Mony to be coin'd as shining as the Sun.*

This Repose, which the Emperor enjoyed, was of no long continuance. Prince *Dara* had assembled a new Army at *Guzuratte*. 'Twas to be fear'd that his Title to the Empire, together with the Hatred the People begun to express for the new Emperor, and the Affection they commonly have for unfortunate Princes, might prevail over the Artifices and good Fortune of *Oramgzeb*. *Jacont-Sing*, still affectionate to the Royal Party, promis'd to march against the U-

surper at the Head of Ten Thousand *Rageputes*, as soon as *Dara*, shou'd appear in the Field with a Number of Troops sufficient to make head against his Brother. The Designs of the Prince and the *Raja* were not unknown to the vigilant *Oramgzeb*. He gain'd over *Jacont-Sing* by a private Treaty, while he went himself in Person to decide the War against *Dara*. How great was the Surprize to this unhappy Prince, when he was inform'd at the same time, of the Falshood of *Jacont-Sing*, and the near Approach of *Oramgzeb*! 'Twas now too late to think of Retreating. 'Twas the hottest Season of the Year, during which, its very difficult to make ong Marches. 'Twas a Madness to engage in an open Country, an Army stronger than his own, and always accustomed to Victory. There was no other Remedy then, but intrenching in a fertile Country, where he might subsist his Troops, and wait for favourable Occasions. The Design was prudent; but the new Emperor and his Friends did no allow him time to execute it. The Army which *Oramgzeb* had left under the Conduct of *Bader-Cham*, after the first Defeat of *Dara*, quitted the Seige of *Bakar*, and march'd to attack the Princes Rear, while *Oramgzeb* engaged him in Front. It was not possible for *Dara*, who saw himself placed between Two Fires, to stand before Armies, the least of which was stronger than his own. He betook himself to flight, and much ado got safe with his Wives and Children under the Walls of *Amadabad*.

The Rout of *Dara* struck a Terror into those Governors of Places. which were most zealous for his Service. The Gates of all the Towns and

Fortresses were shut against him. *Bader-Cham* still pursued him with an indefatigable Diligance, and had Orders to bring him to *Orangzeb* dead or alive. The Prince, on the other hand, follow'd by about Two Thousand Men, crossed the Plains of *Sinde*, marching Night and Day with incredible Fatigue. At last, forsaken by all about him, destitute of all Assistance, or any Place to shelter him, without Provisions, without a Ressource, he determin'd to travel by Land to *Persia*, whether he had all along expected to pass by Sea. He was in hopes too of being favour'd in his Flight. *Given-Cham* was Governor of a forntier Province of the *Mogol* Territories on the Side of *Persia*. This Man had been indebted to *Dara* for his Life and Fortune. *Cha-Jaham* had order'd him to be trod to Death by Elephants, for some notorious Crime of which he was accus'd, and the Sentence had been executed, if Prince *Dara* had not obtain'd his Pardon. This villain received his Benefactor with all the Demostrations of a most perfect Gratitude. He even engaged him to tarry some Days at his House, and prepar'd the Apartment of his Wives for the Princess *Nur-Mahal*, the Favorite Wife of *Dara*. In the mean time the Traytor sent notice to *Bader-Cham*, that he had *Dara* in his Power, and that he kept a strict Eye over him. The Prince saw plainly enough, that under a pretence of honouring him, he was kept in a kind of Captivity. He complain'd of it; but *Given-Cham* laught it off, or made some frivolous Excuses to quiet him. *Nur-Mahal*, on the other Hand, who saw her Husbands fatal Hour approach, was watching a proper time to Poyson her self. She was just ready to swallow a Dose, which She, like all the Eastern Princesses, carry'd about her in a Ring, to put an end

to all her Misfortunes by a voluntary Death, when her principal Eunuch diverted her, and kindled a small Beam of Hopes in her Soul.

He offer'd to take off *Given-Cham* by an Assassination. In Effect, he clapt a Pocket Pistol into a Brocade Bag, intending to shoot the Traytor thro' the Head. He walk'd up to him holding the Bag in his Hand, as if he had a Present for him from the Princess *Nur-Mahal.* The Governor receiv'd him without the least Mistrust. When the Eunuch was near enough, he snapt his Pistol but mist Fire. There are some Misfortunes of so obstinate a kind, that nothing it seems in Nature can stop their Course. Prince *Dara* was but too plainly convinc'd of this Truth. Every thing conspir,d to hasten his Ruin. After that Attempt of the Eunuch, the Governor kept no Measures with his Prisoners. He confin'd the Princess to her Appartment. The unfortunate *Nur-Mahal*, overwhelm'd with Grief, depriv'd even of the Consolation and good Advice of her faithful *Eunuch*, massacr'd by *Given-Cham*, gave herself up entirely to Despair. After having embrac'd her Children, I will not, says he, survive my Husband. The cruel *Oramgzeb* shall not have the Pleasure of wounding me in the tenderest Part, by exposing to my Sight the Head of *Dara.* O Heavens! shall I be so mean spirited as to spend a tedious Widow-hood in the *Seraglio* of my Enemy! Or shall I, the very Thought of which fills me with Horror, be wretched enough to be taken into the Number of his Wives! At these Words she swallow'd the Poison, which shooting through her Veins quickly depriv'd her of Life. The Cries of her Women brought the Prince into the Apartment of the *Sultaness*; he saw her expire, and was fully determin'd to follow her. Two

Days after, *Bader-Cham* came and invested the Governor's House, and entring the Prince's Apartment, saluted him with the profoundest Respect; but this seeming Honour was quickly follow'd by the most cruel Treatment. Some Soldiers seizing *Dara*, flung him on the Ground, loaded him with Irons, and lock'd him up in a Litter to be carry'd away on the Back of an *Elephant*. *Bader-Cham* conducting his Prisoner took the Road of *Bakar* in Order to continue the Seige of that Place.

The last Remains of *Dara's* Factions, still maintain'd that Fortress for their Master with a deal of Courage. The brave Eunuch, *the Flower of the Spring*, when first beseiged by *Badar-Cham* gave greater Proofs of Valour and Fidelity than could be expected from a Man of his rate. He was still ready to harrass by a long Resistance his Enemies Army: but was obliged to surrender. He receiv'd express Orders from *Dara* then a Captive in the Beseigers Camp, to deliver up the Place to the Troops of *Oramgzeb*. The Grief of this faithful Servant is not to be express'd when he was inform'd of the Captivity of the Prince, and had receiv'd his Orders to deliver up the only Place of Refuge which was left him. He surrendered *Bakar* upon honourable Terms, and Liberty to retire into the Kingdom of *Cachemire*.

Badar-Cham himself carry'd to the Emperor the News of his Success, and conducted *Dara* to *Dely* where the Court was then kept. He entered the Town in a kind of Triumph shewing the People the Captive Prince, mounted on an *Elephant*, his Feet chain'd, and sitting in an open Chair with the youngest of his Children. All the People bewail'd the fate of a Prince, somewhat haughty in

deed, but engaging withal. They compar'd the tast they had had of the Government of *Dara*, with that of the new one under *Oramgzeb*. The Emperor cou'd not bear the Sight or Conversation of his Brother. He order'd him to be convey'd to a Castle without the Town, and there secur'd under a strong Guard.

The Policy of *Oramgzeb* could not be satisfied with keeping *Dara* in Captivity like the other Princes of his Blood. The Enmity he had conceiv'd for this Prince was not the Effect of Ambition alone, but of a personal Hatred. In the mean time to conceal his Designs under the Veil of Justice; he assembl'd a general Council of all the great Lords of the Court, and of all the Captains of his Armies. He desir'd 'em with a great Air of Indifference to give their Opinions which would be properest, to confine *Dara* to a perpetual Imprisonment, or deprive him of Life. His Design by this was to discover the Princes secret Friends, and not spare a Soul who from any Affection for him should vote for his Life. The Council took the Emperors Meaning aright. All declar'd for his Death, except one, who had the Courage to declare himself in Favour of an unhappy Man, who had been his particular Enemy. It is not known whether this was a Piece of refin'd Policy, or the meer effect of Generosity in him, but 'tis certain that his Behaviour was so praise-worthy, even in the Opinion of *Oramgzeb* that he took him into the Number of his particular Friends.

Dara waited in Prison the Decision of his Fate, when some Officers by the Orders of *Oramgzeb* forc'd from his Arms his Beloved Son, to carry him to the Fortress *Gualljer* the ordinary Prison

for Princes of the Blood. As soon as the Father saw himself depriv'd of his Son, he judg'd that he ought in good earnest to think of Death, The Sentiments of Christianity with which the Missionaris had endeavor'd to inspire him reviv'd in his last Moments, He desir'd to have a private Interview with Father *Busee*, a Flemish Jesuit, who formerily instructed him in our holy Mysteries. All Conversation with *Europeans* was refus'd him. Being thus depriv'd of human Comfort, he apply'd himself to God. He was often heard to say: *Mahomet had undone me, Jesus Christ the Son of the Eternal God will save me.* Some Hours before his Death *Oramgzeb* had an ensnaring Question propos'd to him. What would you have done to the Emperor said they, had he fallen into your Hands as you have fallen into his. He's a Rebel, says *Dara*, and a Parricide, let him judge by his Crimes what Treatment he deserves, and what he should have received from me. This Answer provok'd *Oramgzeb.* He now wanted only an Instrument barbarous enough to execute his Orders. *Nazar* one of *Cha-Jahams* Slaves, who often serv'd as a Writing Clark to the Emperors, offer'd himself for this cruel Service. He went to the Place where *Dara* was expecting the Moment in which he was to be deliver'd from his Miseries. He found the Prince in his Apartment lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and repeating these Words: *Mahamed mara micuchet, é ben alla Mariam mi bacchet,* that is to say. *Mahomet gives me Death, and the Son of God will restore me Life.* He had hardly pornounc'd these Words, when the Executioner flung him on the Ground, and cut off his Head. Such was the End of a Prince whom a Mixture of Virtue and Vice render'd more capable of

reigning over the *Mogols*, than of acquiring the Empire. He departed this Life the 22 of *October* in the Year 1657, lamented by the People, and regretted even by those who had abandon'd and betray'd him.

The Hatred which *Oramgzeb* had conceiv'd for his Brother, was carry'd further than the Death of that unhappy Prince. He order'd *Dara's* Head to be brought to him. He viewed it with an Air of Satisfaction. He touched it with the Point of his Sword. He open'd the Eyes which were closed to know by a certain Speck upon one of 'em, whether 'twas the true Head of *Dara* and not another substituted in it's Room. In fine, he added Insults to his Cruelty. Behold, says he, the Remains of that silly Man, who wou'd wrest from me a Crown, he was not able to bear. He afterwards took the Advice of *Roxanara Begom* the irreconcilable Enemy of *Dara*, and always wedded to the Interests of *Oramgzeb*. He order'd the Princes Head to be embalm'd and sent to *Cha-Jaham* in a Box. The Poor Emperor then a Prisoner in the Cittadel of *Agra*, was at Table when he receiv'd the Present which the Messenger told him was sent by *Oramgzeb*. Before the Box was opened; It's some Consolation, says he, for an unfortunate Father, to hear that the Usurper has not wholly forgot me. But when upon opening the Box, he perceived the Head of *Dara*, that Son so tenderly Belov'd, the good old Man fell into a Swound. *Begom-Saeb* a Princess of great Spirit, and always true to the Interests of *Dara*, rent the Air with her Cries. In fine, never was any thing more doleful than the Thoughts occasion'd by so Tragical a Spectacle in the Prison of *Agra*.

To secure *Oramgzeb* the Empire of the *Mogols* for ever, there now remaind no more than to oblige *Cha-Chuia* to lay down his Arms, and get *Sultan Chacu* the eldest Son of *Dara* into his Power. We have already said, that the latter had retir'd into the Kingdom of Mountains to the *Raja Sirinagar*. The Emperor brought both these designs about partly by Force, and partly by Artifice. Disengag'd from the tedious War, which he was oblig'd to carry on against *Dara*, he march'd all his Forces towards the Province of *Bengal*. *Mirza-Mula* had already block'd up the Prince *Cha-Chuia*, who was scarce able to keep together the remains of his Faction almost dwindled away to nothing. When that unfortunate Prince was inform'd, of the Reinforcements which came from all parts to *Mirza-Mula*, he saw no remedy but Flight. The Kingdom of *Arracan* ever impenetrable to the Arms of the *Mogols*, presented him a Retreat. 'Tis surrounded on all Sides by Mountains and Forests. This Scituation secures it against any Insult. On the other Hand it's neighbourhood to the Territorries of Bengal, rendered the Princes retiring thither safe and easy. He writ then to the King, the most uncivilized of all the *Indies*, to give him a Retreat in his Country. He promis'd he wou'd depart from *Arracan* in a little time, and Embark for *Moca*, from whence he intended to go and Implore the Assistance of the King of *Persia*. The treacherous *Raja* immediately proposed to enrich himself with the Spoils of the Fugitive Prince. He offer'd him a Retreat in his Dominions and promis'd to defend him against all the Attempts of *Oramgzeb*. *Cha-Chuia's* departure had all the Appearance of a precipitate Flight. The *Portuguese* who then inhabited *Cha-*

tigan a Maritime Town of the Kingdom of *Arracan*, and the nearest to the Country of *Bengal*, undertook to transport the Prince, his Wives, his Treasures, and some Officers of his Houshold, in small Barks which they made use of to carry on a pyrating Trade. 'Tis said the *Portuguese* sunk the Brigatine in which was all the Money and Jewels of the Prince, and seiz'd 'em to their own use. As for *Cha-Chuia* he arriv'd with much ado in the Kingdom *Arracan*, where he met, in the Person of that Prince, with as dangerous an Enemy as him whom he avoided. After some demonstrations of Kindness and Respect given him at his first coming, they exaeted Submissions from him unworthy a Prince of his Rank. They wou'd oblige him to make his Court in form to the petty King. They demanded his Daughter for one of the Wives of the Prince of *Arracan*, eldest Son of the King. They took it ill, that he shou'd dislike the Meat which was dress'd for him after the *Indian* manner. In fine, his professing the *Mahometan* Sect was made a Crime. These harsh Treatments at first produc'd some discontent in the *Mogol-Prince*, which broke out afterwards into open murmurings. 'Tis even said thht *Cha-Chuia* had form'd designs against the Life of the King who gave him Protection. Be it how it will, the imprudence of *Cha-Chuia* cost him his Life. The King of *Arracans* Subjects invested of all Sides the Palace in which the *Mogol* Prince liv'd. The unfortunate *Cha-Chuia*, had now no other Refuge then that of the Woods, Thither he made his Escape. But there *Tygres* pursu'd him closely, and after having miserably butcher'd his Wives and Children, they depriv'd him of Life on the Seventh of *February* 1658. *Cha-Chuia* was the Se-

cond of *Oramgzebs* Three Brothers, who had been Sacrific'd to his Ambition. This Poor Prince may be said to have deserv'd the Chastisement which Providence inflicted on him. It was he, who by his Precipitation and Rebellion, first gave motion to that cruel War, which arm'd the Sons against the Father, and Brothers against Brothers. 'Tis probable likewise that his wicked Example, open'd a way to the Invasion of *Oramgzeb*. *Cha-Chuia* paid very dearly for his first Attempts against the Authority of the Emperor his Father. Always vanquished, he met his Death in a strange Country; and murther'd by the Hands of *Barbarians*, he spar'd *Oramgzeb* the Infamy of a New Crime.

The *SultanChacu*, eldest Son of *Dara* was not safe in the Kingdom of *Sirinagar*, against the Sollicitations and Artifice of the Usurper. He had too much Merit to escape. His first essay in the Profession of Arms was remarkable by the defeat of *Cha-Chuia*. It concern'd *Oramgzeb* not to let this Slip of the Royal Family grow up in his Neighbourhood, and endanger the shading him one Day. The difficulty lay in getting him out of the Hands of the King of *Sirinagar*, who was very careful of his Preservation, and lov'd him tenderly. Besides this *Rajas* being very good natur'd, and easily mov'd to Compassion, the Inconstancy and Treachery so common to the *Indians* were corrected in him, by his Inclination to *Christianity*. He had not a thought then of delivering to *Oramgzeb* that Prince, whom he lookt on as a precious Pledge which Providence had put into his Hands. It was still more difficult to carry him off by Force. The *Mogols* had formerly made some Attempts upon his Kingdom; but their Armies destitute of Provisions in a barren

Country, either perish'd entirely, or the Men left their Noses and Ears behind 'em. *Oramgzeb* endeavoured therefore by the Assistance of the King of *Sirinagar's* Son, to get the *Mogol* Prince into his Hands, whom he never could obtain from the Father. He prevailed with him by Presents, and by Promises of greater Favours to put *Chacu* into his Hands. A great hunting Match was appointed; the Two young Princes lost themselves in the Mountains in the heat of the Chase; some Persons posted there for that purpose, seized *Sultan-Chacu*, and carried him off to *Oramgzeb.* In fine, the Fortress of *Guallier* was the Prison, in which was buried the Merit of a Prince of the greatest Hopes that had ever been born in the *Indies.*

Of the Three Brothers of *Oramgzeb*, *Moradbax* alone was still living. As much a Prisoner as he was, he was look'd on as an Object of Jealousie, and Uneasiness to the new Emperor. 'Twas necessary to get rid of him at any rate, and cut him off as well as the rest; but some Colour must be given to the Design form'd against his Life.

They borrowed the Mask of Justice to cover over a great Piece of Iniquity. The *Mahometans* have a Law which bars the new made Emperor of the Power of Life and Death over his Subjects, till he receives from the *Casi* or Head of their Religion, a kind of Consecration, which is lookt on among the *Mogols*, as the Seal of the Imperial Jurisdiction. The good old Man, who was then at the Helm of the Church, and was great Interpreter of the *Alcoran*, beheld with Indignation the usurp'd Authority of *Oramgzeb.* He obstinately refus'd, during the Life of *Cha-Jaham*, to perform that Ceremomy which still was wanting, to

give the New Emperor an absolute Authority. *Oramgzeb* had the old Man deposed, and another *Casi* less scrupulous, and always ready to favor the Inclinations of the Court elected in his Room. From his Hands *Oramgzeb* receiv'd, along with his Consecration, the Power of disposing, as he thought fit, of the Lives of his Subjects.

The first use the Emperor made of his New Authority, was to take away the Life of *Moradbax* his Brother. Two false Witnesses were suborn'd against him; they depose'd, that when the Prince was *Vice-Roy* of *Guzuratte*, he had put one of *Cha-Jahams* Secretaries to Death, sent expressly to his Government to inspect his conduct. *Oramgzeb* cou'd not hear out the Charge, without a Counterfeit Air of Indignation against the Witnesses; which however was turn'd soon after against the Criminal. Yet still he's my Brother, cry'd he? Must I be constrain'd to spill the last drop of my own Blood? While he was thus afflicting himself, his *Astrologers*, who were accustom'd to report the Decrees of Providence, according to the Princes Passion, spoke to him after this manner. *Assure your self Sir, your Reign will ever be unhappy, if an unseasonable Compassion hinders your punishing the first Criminal convicted before your Tribunal.* *Oramgzeb* at first pretended a great Reluctancy; at last he yeilded, bemoaning the hardship of his Destiny. The Tears were seen to drop from his Eyes, when he order'd the Soldiers of his Guard, to go to the Prison of *Guallier*, and see his Brother stung by one of those Adders whose Poison's a quick and certain Death. The taking off the unfortnnate *Moradbax*, left *Oramgzeb* in the quiet Possession of a Throne, to which he had made his way by his Courage and Policy.

Cha-Jaham was still permitted to spin out his Life.. A feeble old Man, whose Inapacity to Reign was known to the whole Empire. Thus *Oramgzeb* having possess'd him self of the richest Monarchy in the World by ways of Intreague, Governs it to this Day, and maintains by his great Address that Scepter, which he at first obtain'd by his Policy.

The Emperors first Care, when he saw himself in the peaceable Possession, and without a Competitor on the Throne, was to establish his Glory, after having secur'd the Crown. He sent for all the Historians of the Court, whose Function it is, to Write the Chronicle of the Empire. They have serv'd us as Guides, through the whole course of this work. Transmit says he, to Posterity, the History of my Conquests, and let my Accession to the Crown serve for an Example to my Successors. The first Historian took the Liberty to ask the *Sultan* what Colours he shou'd give to the Imprisonment of his Father, and the Murder of his Three Brothers. Know, says he, that my Conduct is warranted, by the necessity of the State, and the Efforts Requisite to be made, for supporting our tottering Religion. A weak Father, and Brothers Enemies to *Mahomet*, Efface the Infamy of my Attempts. The whole Glory of my Reign must be construed into a particular Will of the Almighty. 'Twas he that took a poor *Faquir* by the Hand, and conducted him to the Throne ; to teach Posterity, that he humbles the Proud, and exalts the Humble.

A Description of the Court.

Of the Forces, of the Riches, and Government, of the Mogol *Emperors.*

IT was not possible to write the Universal History of the *Mogols* without giving some *Idea* of the Court, the Forces, the Riches, and Government of the Emperors. The Reader might easily have perceiv'd some Hints of what we are about to relate scatter'd through the course of this History. And yet it must be own'd that the few Hints given in this Work can only serve to excite his Curiosity, and stir up in him a Desire of seeing the Particulars of what we could only give him in Gross. The Laws of History wont admit of tedious Digressions from the main Subject: And therefore we thought it better to leave the Reader in Expectation of being inform'd of what we have reserv'd for the Conclusion of the Work, than interrupt him in the direct Course of it.

It will besides be of some Use, to represent at one View the whole Plan of the Court, the Magnificence, the Interests, and Government of the Emperors whose Lives we have written. An Ambassador, or Deputy of a Company at the Court of the *Mogols*, may here be sufficiently inform'd of the Manners and Customs of the Country to which they shall happen to be sent. A Traveller, a Merchant, or a Missionary, will he pleas'd to know when at *Dely*, or *Agra*, the Customs of a Court where perhaps a due Information may stand him in good stead. It is for these Rea-

sons that *M. Manouchi* has given a particular Descriptions of the *Seraglio*, the Armies, the Revenues, and Government of the *Mogols*, without intermixing it with his Chronicle. We shall here give an Abridgment, yet without omitting any thing material, of what the *Venetian* has described at large. He protests, because he would not deceive the publick in a matter where Mistakes may be of more dangerous Consequence, than in History, that he relates nothing upon the Credit of others. He has seen he says, he has examin'd into the Truth of all he delivers. He had liv'd among the *Mogols* eight and forty years, at the time of writing his Memoirs which was in the Year 1697, He had travell'd almost through all the Provinces of that vast Empire. He was in a very honourable Post, whereby he might certainly with more Ease than the common Travellers of *Europe* come to the Knowledge of the Mysteries of the *Seraglio*, which are carefully conceal'd from the Eyes of the Publick. People are not to wonder therefore, if they find here a particular Relation with such Circumstances as are not to be found elsewhere, of the State of the Empire of the *Mogols*, where *M. Manouchi* gave us the Description of it. We shall in the first Place give an *Idea* of the Court of the Emperors; afterwards describe their Forces, and their Armies; next we shall enter upon the particulars of their Revenues; and lastly expose their State Policy and manner of Govern-

The Mogols *Court.*

Europe is not the only Place in which the Magnificence of Soveraign Courts is surprising. We

may even say that with regard to the Manners of the Country, the Courts of the great Princes of the East, are not Inferior to those of the *European* Monarchs. Be that how it will as to others, that of the *Mogol*, has certainly an Air of Magnificence which gives Astonishment to Strangers, and seems very surprising to an *Italian*.

Indeed the Emperors Palaces at *Dely* and *Agra* have nothing of that Regularity, and fine Order so admirable in the Strucure of the great Edifices at *Rome* and *Venice*. Yet we may say that those of the *Mogol* have their partular Beauties and are very well proportioned according to the Tast of the *Indies*, which is not despisable. The have had no Regard in the Construction of these Biuldings, to the *Grecian* Architecture, all along unknown in the East; yet they follow a Method which in not shocking to the Eye, and which doubtless with Regard to the Customs of the Country, has somewhat more convenient, then these several lofty Stories which People can never get up to without Trouble.

The Palace of *Agra* which is called the *Mahal* in the Language of the Country, serves also as a Cittadel to the Capital. It's built in the Form of a half Moon upon the Banks of the River *Gemna*. To view it o' the Town side, it appears of a round Figure. The Walls are hi large enough for Cannon of a middle Size, are planted upon 'em at proportionable Interval A Fortress of this kind serves in the *Indies* to keep the People to their Duty. The M*ahal* is seen a great Distance; and as the Stone with which it is built is of a reddish Colour, and not unlike a Jasper Marble, but that it's soft and apt to rise off in Flakes, the Palace glisters all over in the Rays of

the Sun. It's easily distinguish'd by its Kooks from the rest of the Town. The Ditches with which it is surrounded being always fill'd with Water, and the Terrasses of the Garden which serve as a Rampart about the *Mahal*, present the Sight at a reasonable Distance with such a Mixture of Canals of running Water, of Greens, and Buildings, as would not be thought disagreeable even in Europe.

The Parade on the side of the Capital, which is large enough, and opens all along the Front of the Palace, separates the *Mahal* from the City of *Agra*. Here the *Rajas* draw up their *Rageputes*. Those *Indian* Princes march in here, each in his weekly Turn, to take the Guard of the outer Gates of the Palace. Two of them open upon this Parade, and the two Principal Streets of the Capital terminate in it. From these Streets the People enter the *Mahal*, after having pass'd the Bridges which are laid over the Ditch.

A large Canal of clear running Water is the first Object which presents it self to the Sight, upon entring the Palace Yard. It's Banks laid and fac'd with Stone form as it were two Dykes which receive the Water and hinder it's running over. Upon thoseBanks which are very large of both Sides to give free Passage to the *Elephants*, to Horsemen and Footmen, are run out long rows of Guard-Houses, Offices, and Shops standing at the proper Distance. The Apartments and Offices of the meanest Servants of the Court lye here, and long Galleries erected for the Imperial Manufactures. All Sorts of Artizans come daily into the Palace to work for the *Mogol*. In some of the Halls are Embroiderers and Painters; in others Goldsmiths and Enamellers; in others Silk and

Cloath Weavers, and in others Mechanicks of the meanest Trades. Each of these has its Overseer who takes care that all the Workmen do their Duty, and who has the Principal Direction of the Manufactures. 'Tis astonishing with what Silence every one exercises his Function. A body must have all the Flegm and Dullness of the *Indians* to be able to spend whole Days at Work, and in Company almost without ever speaking a Word, and without any other Motion than that which belongs to the Trade they profess.

At the End of the Canal is a Place of Arms which extends it self in a Circle. 'Tis in this vast Extent that the *Mahometan Militia* mount the Guard. The *Omrahs* of War, that is to say the Principal Officers of the Army, lead thither every Day their Troops and command them in their Turns. The whole Compass of the Place is furnish'd with Tents for the subaltern *Omhras,* and Hutts for the common Soldiers. This Imagery of War, which is continually seen both within and without the Palace, has something I know not what of august, which inspires in it Respect for the great Monarch who resides there.

Thus a Body must pass through a great Army to enter into the *Am-Kas*, so they call the first Court of the *Mahals*. 'Tis very spacious and built in a square Figure. As it's encompass'd on every side by *Priazas*, it affords at all times, at least in some arts, the Conveniency of a Shade. Here at certain Hours are constantly heard from the upper Appartments, some Instruments of Musick after the Manner of the Country. The Harmony perhaps would not be relish'd in *Europe.* But in the *Indies* the very Strangers themselves, who are accustom'd to it, find in their Consorts I know

not what kind of Majesty which renders them agreeable. There's doubtless something of Grandeur in putting the People thus in Mind of their Soveraign so many times a day, by Musick which makes his Palace eccho all over.

The *Am-Kas* which might be compar'd to the *Place-Royal* of *Paris*, serves only as an Entry to the Magnificent Hall of Audience, whither all the Emperors Subjects have a right to come and implore his Justice. It's large and magnificent. As it is all open on the Court side, the People enter into it between the double Rows of Pillars by which it is supported. The Ceiling's painted, and the Gilding which is often renew'd has not been sparingly bestow'd upon it. At the further End of the Hall, is the Emperors glittering Throne, which may be descry'd at a great Distance from the very Entrance of the *Am-Kas*. At the usual Hour which is generally about Noon all the *Omhras* who are then in Town, come to pay their Attendance at the Hall of Audience. They are separated from the People, which either Curiosity or Business brings thither in crowds, by Ballisters, or rather Silver Lettices of must curious Workmanship. A Balcone to which they mount by several Steps, admits them nearer the Emperors Person according to their Rank and Dignity. Here they wait in Silence the coming in of the *Mogol*.

When his approach at last is made known, by the sound of Instruments, a Curtain is drawn, and the Emperor appears seated on a Throne after the Manner of the Eastern Princes in a kind of *Alcove*. The *Sultans* his Children sitting on Cushions at his Feet, and the Eunuchs beating off the

Flies, and cooling the Air about him with Fanns.

Nothing can be richer than the Throne on which the *Mogol* shews himself every Day to his People. The pretious Stones with which 'tis adorn'd, reflect an insupportable Lustre. They tell you it is the Workmanship of a French Man, who travell'd into the *Indies* in the Reign of the last Emperor. 'Twere to be wish'd that the Art had equall'd the Materials. That which appears to have the most of fancy in it is a figure of two Peacocks, which serve as a crowning to the Throne. It's studded all over with the beautifullest Stones exactly proportion'd; and if the Undertaker has not put in Counterfits, instead of the true Stones which were given him, nothing can paralel the Richness of so fine a Monument. *Cha-Jaham* was the Person who order'd it to be made; and *Oramgzeb* the first who sat in it, the Day that he took upon him in publick the Government of the Empire.

'Tis from this Seat of Magnificence and Grandeur that the *Mogol* distributes Justice to his People. The *Omhras* lay the State of all Complaints and Contests before him in a few Words, and he pronounces Judgment. Criminals are executed upon the Spot. Some trod to Death by *Elephants*, others beheaded, and others stung by Adders whose Poison is Mortal.

When Affairs are such that they don't require a close Application, the *Mogol* at the Hours of Audience, takes a Pleasure in seeing his *Elephants* and Horses pass along the Court of the *Am-*[illegible] Nay they sometimes distract his Thoughts amidst the most serious Affairs. Tho' generally speaking the Emperors value themselves on an Exactness in the Administration of Justice, and a Penetra-

tion in resolving the most intricate Cases. So that it may justly be question'd, whether they have acquir'd more Glory by their Conquests of new Kingdoms, or by an exact Distribution of Justice. 'Tis plain they lay themselves under a great deal of Constraint by this daily Attendance; but 'tis a Duty which no Emperor dare dispense with unless in Cases of extreme Sickness. And Instances have often been known of an Emperor's being carry'd to the throne at a time when his Recovery was despair'd of.

From the Hall of Audience, the Emperor constantly passes to the Appartment of the Baths. Some *Omhras* of the first Rank may follow him thither, where they sit in Council upon the greatest Affairs of the Empire, as the Preservation or Enlargement of the Frontiers, the Establishment and Conduct of the young *Sultans*, they read the Dispatches of *Vice-Roys* the most remote; they examine the Reports made by Spies which the Emperor retains in all Parts of his Kingdoms, even in the most inconsiderable Towns. This is the Business of the Cabinet Council, which meets day after day in the Appartment of the Baths.

After Sun set the Emperor comes thither again, and none of the *Omhras* must be absent at that Hour. 'Tis a Rule not to be dispens'd with. While they are discoursing of Affairs among themselves or with the M*ogol*, the subaltern Officers of the *Militia*, who are called M*ausebdars*, march their Troops as it were in Review; particularly a Company of Guards which always attend the Emperors Person, never fail at this time to shew themselves. They appear by the Light of Flambeaux with Arms which distinguish them; these

Arms are a kind of long Maces, or rather indeed Staves plated over with Silver. Some *Mogol* not over scrupulous in observing the Laws of *Mahomet* must first have introduc'd this Custom. At least one wou'd judge so by their bearing the Figures of Animals or Constellations, as Ornaments on at the point of these Maces. These kind of Officers never appear before the Emperor without their Maces in their Hands, to shew that they are always ready to execute his Orders. Out of this Company are chosen Ambassadors to foreign Courts, and all the Envoys sent to the *Raja's* of *Indoustan*.

None of the Lords of the Empire are allow'd to follow the Emperor further than the Appartment of the Baths. The inner Court of the Mahal. is a Region of Mystery, where never any, except the Eunuchs, are permitted to enter. We call it the *Seraglio*, to distinguish it by a Name understood in *France*. We may venture to say, that none of our Travellers have hitherto given a just Description of it. A Man must be of the same Profession with *M. Manouchi*, and have at Court all the Credit of an old Physician to be admitted into the *Seraglio*. The Description which he gives of it is this. It's peopl'd, says he, by above Two Thousand Women, whose several Stations we shall here set down. 1. The Queens or the Wives of the Emperor who hold the first 2. The Concubines or Wives of the Empe who hold the second Rank. 3. The Princes a Princesses. 4. The Ladies of the Palace who inspect the Conduct of the Queens, and are Governants to the Princesses. 5. The Musicians of the Court. 6. the Women Slaves, and Eunuchs.

As to the Queens or Wives of the first Order, the *Mogol* has sometimes no less than six. He is marry'd to them in Form. They are commonly the Daughters of *Rajas*, who in Consideration of their Birth, or for Reasons of State, are rais'd of a suddain to the first Rank without ever passing thro' the second. Sometimes favourite Concubines Musicians or Dancers, as the Emperor takes a Fancy, are rais'd to the Dignity of Queens. The Children of these Queens only, who in the Empire are look't on as legitimate, are allow'd the Title of *Sultans*, and have a right of succeeding their Father. 'Tis very surprising that none of the *Mogol* Emperors were ever yet known to have above four Sons by so many Queens, or that ever Mention was made of their having so much as one Son by so many Concubines. No Doubt they have made it a Rule in the *Seraglio,* not to let above four Princes live, and to destroy all the Male Children of the second Order. The Emperor himself give Names to all the Queens; for they always have new Names given them when they rise to the first Order. *Nur-Jaham* was the Name of the Wife of *Jehan-Guir*, and *Taige-Mahal* that of the Wife of *Cha-Jaham*. The first signifies *the Light of the World*, the second. *the Crown of the Seraglio.* The Appartments of those Queens are Magnificent and Delightful. The Heat of that burning Climate don't in the least [illegible]mode them. They are every where fur-[illegible]'d with purling Streams, Shades, *Jet D'eaus* and Subterranean Grotto's to take the fresh Air in.

The Wives of the second Order, differ very little from those of the first in any Point but that of their Rank in the *Seraglio.* Their Appartments

are not so richly furnish'd, their Allowance more stinted, their Wardrobes less Magnificent, and their Slaves fewer in Number. They are indeed at the Expence of their own boarding. The Queens alone and the Princesses of the *Mogol*-Blood are serv'd from the Imperial Kitchin. For this Reason it is that they are called *Begom*, that is to say: *without Care and without Trouble*. The Emperor gives likewise their Names to his Wives of the second Rank. One for Example is called *Ranadel* which signifies *the Faithful*; another *Mal-Lub*, that is to say, *given by Destiny*.

The Princes and the Princesses of the Blood, are treated with the same Magnificence as the Queens. 'Tis true the young *Sultans* are entertain'd there, only till they are marriageable. The *Mogol* their Father breeds them under his own Eye during their Infancy. When they come to the Age of Thirteen or Fourteen, they give them a *Seraglio* apart, and their Court is little Inferior to that of the Emperor. Those who are not destin'd by the Preference of the *Mogol* to succeed him in the Empire, are sent in Quality of Vice-Roys into the most remote Provinces. These young *Sultans* are considerably Rich, the very Day of their quitting [illegible]: what contributes to make them so is this. It's a Custom on the Day of their Birth to assign them Pensions which are always more considerable than those of the Principal Officers of the Kingdom. T Revenues of the young Princes are laid by Treasury by themselves, and they are pu in Possession of those amass'd Riches upon the Day of their Marriage. Thus the Eldest Son of the Emperor, who at this Day Reigns, has

Twenty Millions of Roupies coming in yearly, which amounts to very near Thirty Millions of our Money of *France*. A sensless Conduct in the *Mogols*, who by this Profusion on their Children, put the Instruments of Rebellion into their Hands! The Emperors themselves are but too sensible in due time of the dangerous effects of their Liberality. While these Princes continue in the *Seraglio* under their Fathers Eye, an Eunuch has the care of their Education. They are taught to Read, and sometimes to Write the *Arabian* and *Persian* Languages. They form their Bodies to military Exercises, and fill their minds with principles of Equity. They are accustom'd to decide judiciously all Controversies which happen, and Law Cases, which are suppos'd merely to instruct 'em. Last of all they are train'd up in the *Mahometan* Religion, and to know the Interests of the Countries, they are perhaps one Day to Govern.

For the young *Sultanesses* their Sisters, they are bred up in all the Luxury imaginable. As they are generally the Emperor their Father's chief Amusement, their greatest study is how to endear him. By this means, they sometimes obtain more Liberty than is decent for Princesses, and the Rigours of the Cloister are often dispens'd with in their Favour. The Indulgence of the *Mogols* in this point, extends sometimes to a Connivance at their keeping Gallants; the Example of which, soon corrupts the whole *Seraglio*. Idleness together with a delicious way of Living and reading wanton Books, must needs be Source of Vice in Cloisters, where the Power of true Religion restrains to no Rules. Yet it must be own'd there's a great deal of Politeness among so many Women excited by Jealousy and Emula-

tion. Few Contests are heard among 'em, or dissentions that make a Noise. The Governants quickly command the Peace, and the Fear of being chastis'd, constrains their Passions, or stifles 'em in their Breasts.

The Queens, the Wives of the second Order, and Princesses of the Blood, have all one and the same way of Dressing. Their Hair always falls down in Tresses, perfum'd with the finest Essences. Some, by Permission of the Emperor, wear Turbants on their Heads, adorn'd with Plums of Feathers, Pearls and precious Stones. Others pin from the Crown of their Heads, on Tresses of their Hair, gather'd up in Form of a Pyramid, floating Scarves of gold Tissue, which hang down behind and reach to the very Ground. Their Hair is wove with Pearl, which Form also a kind of Diadem above their Foreheads. In the Centre of this Diadem is fix'd a glorious Jewel resembling in its Figure the Sun, a Crescent, a Star, or some beautiful Flower. This kind of Head Dress, gives 'em an extraordinary Grace. Their Necklaces are of the finest Orient Pearl mix'd here and there with Diamonds, Rubies and Saphirs.

As the Climate obliges the Ladies of the *Seraglio* to wear the highest Cloaths, there's a Silk made on purpose for 'em, so very slight, that a whole Suit of it does not weigh above Ounce. They lye in these Wrappers, and ev Morning throw 'em off for good and all. In fine, every Day of their Lives, they put on a new Suit of a different Colour. They wear so many Jewels, that they are in a manner burthen'd with 'em. The Neck, of their Gowns are bordered with Diamonds inchas'd between

two Rows of Pearls which come down in a cross before their Stomachs. Their Pendants and Bracelets are of a surprizing Magnificence. Their Fingers and their Toes which are always uncover'd. for they only wear Sandals, are alike adorn'd with the richest Rings. All the *Mogol's* Wives, and all his Daughters wear on their right Thumbs, a small looking Glass, in the Shape of a Signet, but set round with Pearl. This they are incessantly consulting; it employs all this Moments.

The Ornament which best becoms 'em, is a Gold Girdle of about two Fingers broad, garnished with precious Stones. Labels of the same Mettle, and studded with Diamonds, hang down from it with Clusters of Orient Pearl at the Ends of the Tags. What's very astonishing, is, that each Lady has at least six or eight Changes of these Jewels. The reader will doubtless here fancy himself transported into a Fairy Land where all is Pearl and Diamonds. But the Description we have given, comes very much short of the Truth. The Court of the *Mogol* is richer in Jewels than can well be conceived in *Europe*. *Tamerlain* the Founder of their Empire, pillaged the Pallaces of the greatest Part of the Sovereigns of *Asia*. 'Tis well known, that the Principal care of the Eastern Princes, in former Times as well as in [illegible], was that of gathering together a vast Num- [illegible] precious Stones: *Babar* carry'd with him from *Samercand* to the *Indies*, all the Treasures of *Tamerlane*, that is to say, the Spoil of almost all the East. The Emperors who succeeded *Babar*, have always added to the Treasures of their Ancestors. *Oramgzeb* in particular, by his Conquest of the Kingdom of *Golconda* is become Master of the whole Diamond Mine. Every Year that

Mogol, besides the Tribute, paid him out of *Golconda* in precious Stones, buys up the fairest and the most perfect for the use of his Wives and Daughters. These Jewels are never alienated not even by the Death of the Queens and Princesses. The Emperor is their only Heir. It may be further added, that the Jewels of the *Seraglio* are render'd unfit for Sale. They are almost all bor'd through. *Akebar* having once occasion for Money to carry on the Conquests of the Kingdom of *Guzuratte*, sent some Rubies to be sold at *Goa*. They were very beautiful to the Eye, but their being bord spoil'd the Sale of 'em. As to the precious Stones which the Emperor himself makes use if, they are Master-pieces of Nature. They have all their particular Names. One is called the *Sun*, another the *Moon*, another the *Bull's Eye* or the *Bear-star*. 'Tis by these Names the *Mogol* distinguishes and calls for 'em.

The Expence the Emperor is at in Perfumes, for his Wives and the Princesses of his Blood, wou'd seem incredible in *France*. Perfuming Pans are smoaking Day and Night in their Apartments. Nor are they [illegible] Perfumes which they make use of, but the most exquisite the *Indies* afford. We may say, that the sense of Smelling at the *Mogol Seraglio*, is refin'd to the highest degree Imaginable.

The Ladies of the Palace who serve as Governants to the Young Princesses, and Inspecters over the Queens, have not so great a share in the Luxury, and Magnificence of the *Seraglio*; but have much a greater in the Goverment of the Empire. All intreagues of State are carry'd on, War and Peace are made, Vice-Royships and

Governments obtain'd by their Means: In fine, they have the principal distribution of Court Favors. These Ladies venerable for their Age and Wisdom, have each an Office, and a Title answerable to the Employments and Titles of the principal Officers of the Crown. Accordingly one performs in the *Seraglio*, the Function of prime Minister; another that of Secretary of State, and onother that of Vice-Roy. The Lady who's entrusted with the Ministry, for example, keeps a Correspondence with the first Minister. She has Eunuch's at her Command who carry Letters incessantly to that Principal *Omhra*, and brings those of that Minister to their Lady. 'Tis by the intercourse of these Court Ladies, that the Emperor is fully appris'd of some matters which are but Slightly propos'd, in the Hall of Audiences, and in the Appartments of the Baths. They are properly speaking the Cabinet Council of the *Mogol*. The Emperor is inform'd by those who correspond with the *Vice-Roys*, of all manner of News from the Frontiers. They have Power to send Couriers to the several Places under their Charge. 'Tis easily conceiv'd that the principal care of each great Officer of the Empire is to keep himself in the good Graces of his Court Lady. The least rupture with her is attended with inevitable Ruin. Happy is the Man whose Lot has not condemn'd him to a dependance on a capricious Correspondant! The Emperors give Names to every one of 'em answerable to their Carracters. That of *Faima-Bam* is one of the most honorable. It siginifies, the *Phylosophical Lady*.

The Musitians and Dancers are divided into several Companies. Each Company has a singing and dancing Mistress. She is the Governante and

Conductress of those Young Maids, who are chosen indifferenily out of *Mahometan* and *Pagan* Families, to be placed in the *Seraglio.* The Pensions of the Intendants of the Musick are equal to those of the Ladies of the Palace, but the former are never admitted to the Councils of the Emperor. Their only Business is to regulate the Consorts, Teach their Desciples to touch a kind of Lute, of a harmonious Sound, and provide new Tunes for the Entertainment of the Queens and Princesses. The *Mogol* Wives and the Princesses of the Blood, have each a Company of Musitians which never attend any other. Among these they chuse their Confidants. Yet all the Companies unite upon certain Festivals, either to Sing Hymns to the Almighty, or celebrate the Praises of the Emperor. They stick at no kind of Flattery in these Odes to the Emperor. *When he Walks*, say they, *the Four-Elephants which bear up the Earth tremble again. The Sun serves him as a Pillow to rest his Head on, and the Moon for a Stirrup when he Rides.* The Names of the Musitians are always of the Emperors fancying. One he calls *Sroc-bay* that is to say the *Mellodious Voice;* another *Gian-bay* which signifies, the *inventing Genius.* The chief Talent of these Young Women is in inventing Diversions for their Mistresses, and particularly comical Plays or Drols in which they Excel. The Emperor makes no Scruple of coming to their Plays, and very often a part well acted in a Comedy with fine singing and dancing, has been the Advancement of an Actress to a Station in the first or second Order.

The Women Slaves of the *Seraglio* perform all the servile Work about that Queens, the Concubines, the Princesses, and Ladies of the Palace,

The Emperor gives to them their Names. One is call'd *Golal*, that is to say the *Rose*, another *Narquis* which signifies a *Tulip*, another *Chambeli* that is to say *Jasinnin*. These are divided into Companies of Ten or Twelve under the Direction of a Mistress. The Emperor disposes of these Servants, and gives them to his Wives and Daughters in a greater or lesser Number as he sees fit. He is serv'd himself only by Women; but what seems most extraordinary is his being always guarded within the *Seraglio* by a Company of *Tartarian* Virago's, consisting of a Hundred in Number, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, a Poynard and Cimeter. Madam their Captian has the Rank and Pay of an *Omhra* of the Army. This Guard is no unnecessary Precaution in the *Mogols* against the Rage and Treason of so many Rivals as compose his Court.

As for the Eunuchs they swarm within the Palace. Some do the Function of Porters. This is a very nice Employment, and exposes to great Hazards. The being too faithful or too remiss in guarding the Entrace of the *Seraglio* is equally dangerous. Too much Strictness gets them the ill Will of the Queens and Princesses; and too much Complaisance may cost them their Lives. Other Eunuchs are Overseers of the *Seraglio*. One in particular who is call'd the *Nadar*, that is to say, *Head of the Mahal* is one of the first Officers of the Crown. His Business is to intain good Orders throughout the Seraglio e settles an exact Discipline in it, he enforoes it by his Severity; he regulates the Expences the Emperors Wives and Daughters; he is Keeper of the Imperial Treasure and great Master of the Wardrobe. He prescibes the Kind and Qua-

lity of Habit and Aparrel, and is responsible for all the precious Stones and Jewels of the Empire. In fine, the whole Expences of the *Seraglio* the cloathing, the Linnen, and Perfumes, pass thro' his Hands. The Subaltern Eunuchs have each a particular Superintendancy under the *Nadar*. Some over the Essences and prefum'd Oyles; Others over the Stuffs; and others over the Furniture of the Appartments. They who are most consider'd by the Princesses, are those who prepare and distribute the Liquors which are drank in the *Seraglio*. By their Means they sometimes get Wine or other strong Liquors. These are a Regale so much the sweeter as they are absolutely forbidden, and never to be used but as it were by Stealth. The rest of the Eunuchs of the lowest Order, are employ'd in the Messages and Service of the Court Ladies. 'Tis incredible what Numbers of them are continually running up and down the Capital, about the Affairs of the *Seraglio*. Thence it is that nothing of Moment passes in the Town but is persently known at Court; so that these Women tho' ever so much confin'd, are perfectly informed of all the Chat and Intreagues abroad. The Expence of the inner Palace which the *Nabar* disburses yearly, does not amount to much above Fifteen Millions yearly.

The Forces and the Armies of the Mogol.

The Prodigious Number of Troops which the Emperor keeps always in Pay, render him without Comparison, the most formidable Monarch of the *Indies*. It's commonly thought in *Europe* that the Armies are more to be fear'd for their Numbers. then their Valour. But to say the

Truth, the *Mogol's* Troops do not want Courage so much as the Discipline of War, and a proper Exercise of their Arms. To compare the Armies of *Indoustan* with those of *Europe*, it cant be deny'd but the former wou'd in Fight be much Inferior. And yet not any of the Nations beyond the *Indus* is equal in Courage to the Subject of the *Mogol*. Even the Discipline, and the Art of making War, are in a greater perfection among them, then among the Neighbors. 'Twas by this Advantage that *Akebar* and *Oramgzeb* extended the Limits of their Empire so far, and that the later fills to the Day all the Eastern Nations with the Terror of his Name.

The whole military Force of this vast Empire may be reduced under Three Classes. The first is made up of that Army which the *Mogol* always keeps in his Capital, and which every Day Mounts the Guard before his Palace. The Second comprehends those Troops which are quartered up and down the Provinces. And the Third, consists of the *Indian* auxiliary Troops, which the *Rajas* and Vassals to the Emperor are oblig'd to Furnish.

The Army which Incamps every Day at the Gates of the Palace, whether the Court be at *Dely*, or at *Agra*[illegible] to at least Fifty Thousand Horse, without reckoning that prodigious Multitude of Foot, with which the Two Capitals are always crouded. So that when the Emperor goes into the Field, these Two Cities are left in a manner like Two Empty Camps, deserted by their Armies. All follow the Court; and except those parts where the *Baniams* Live, that is to say, the Master Traders, the whole Town looks as if it were dispeopled. A prodi-

gious Number of Sutlers, Porters, Slaves, and petty Merchants of all sorts, March in the Rear of the Army, to supply it with all the same necessaries that are to be had in Towns. However these Troops of the Houshold are not all upon the same Establishment. The Four Thousand Slaves of the Emperor, thus they call 'em to signify how much they are devoted to his Service, Compose the most considerable Body among the Troops of the *Mogol*. Their Captain who is called *Daroga* is an Officer of great note, and sometimes entrusted with the Command of Armies. All the Soldiers who have the honor to be receiv'd into this distinguish'd Body, are mark'd in the Forehead. Out of these are chosen the *Mansebdars* or subaltern Officers, who are rais'd by degrees to the Rank of *Omhras* of the Army; this is a Post which answers near enough to that of General Officers among us.

The Guards of the Golden Mace, of the Silver Mace, and of the Iron Mace, compose three different Companies, where of the Soldiers are differently mark'd in the Forehead. Their Pay is greater, and the respect paid 'em greater, in proportion to the Mettle with which their Maces are plated over. All these Corps are recruited with choice Men, whose Courage has recommended 'em as worthy of that Service. 'Tis indispensably necessary to have serv'd in one or other of these Troops, and given some Proofs of Distinction in Order to Arrive at any of the great Offices of the State. Birth gives no Rank in the Army of the *Mogol*, Merit alone regulates the point of Precedence. Even the Sons of *Omhras* of the first Order, are often seen to March in the Ranks among the common Men. There's no

such thing as Nobility of Blood acknowledg'd among the *Indian Mahemetans*, except in the descendants of *Mahomet*, who are still respected where ever the *Alcoran* takes Place.

To compute the Number of Troops which the *Mogol* keeps on Foot in his Dominions at large, we must first reackon up the Kingdoms, which compose his vast Empire. If the Historians' of the Country may be believ'd, those under the Jurisdiction of the present Emperor amount to Fifty Four. But we shall here follow a less particular Division of the *Mogol* Empire, such as is better known and reciev'd in *Europe*. We shall reduce all these Kingdoms, compris'd within the Empire of the *Mogol* to about Twenty: The rest to speak properly being only large Provinces, depending on some or other of the Kingdoms we are about to treat of.

The Kingdom of *Dely* Scituate in the Centre of the Empire, has for its Capital a City of the same Name. 'Tis often the Seat of the *Mogol* Emperors. When the Court has it's Residence here, we are assur'd that the Emperor keeps an Army on Foot in this one Kingdom, even in time of Peace, amounting to near Two Hundred Thousand Men. The Kingdom of *Agra*, when the Capital in it's turn is the Residence of the Imperial Court has also a like Number of Troops. And when the Court is away there are commonly left in Garrison above Fifty Thousand Horse, and double the Number of Foot. This is one Rule which must be always observ'd in reckoning up the Forces of the *Mogol*. The Number of foot is every where double to that of the Horse. We shall therefore only mention the Cavalry which will serve to compute the Infantry. Two reasons

oblig'd the *Mogols* to keep always a small Army on Foot in *Agra.* First because the Treasury of the Empire is kept there; and secondly because they are continually at War there, with the Boors, a Stubborn and Warlike People, who have never yet been intirely reduc'd since the Conquest of *Indoustan.*

The Court resides sometimes in the Kingdom of *Lahor.* When it is elsewhere, the Emperor keeps always an Army there of Twelve Thousand Horse, and Foot in Proportion. In the Kingdom of *Asmir* are reckon'd Six Thousand Horse, and Ten Thousand in the Kingdom of *Guzuratte.* In that of *Mallua* Seven Thousand Horse, and as many in the Kingdom of *Patana.* Six Thousand are allotted for the defence of the Kingdom of *Multan.* As to the Kingdom of *Cabul*, the Army appointed there is always very numerous. The most formidable Enemy the *Mogols* have, is without doubt the *Persian.* To present his pushing his Conquests beyond *Candahar*; as also the Incursions of the *Tartars*, and to contain the *Patanes* as their Duty, the *Mogols* maintain in that uncultivated Kingdom, which at the best affords but a small Revenue, an Army of Slxty Thousand Horse. The Kingdom of *Tata, of Bacar, of Urecha and of Cachemire* [illegible]ch, not above Four Thousand Horse in Garrison. There is reckon'd Eight Thousand in the Kingdom of *Decan*, Seven Thousand in that of *Barar*, Six Thousand in the Kingdom of *Brampour*, Five Thousand in that of *Baglana*, Four Thousand in *Ragemal*, and Six Thousand in the Kingdom of *Nande.*

The Kingdoms of *Bengale*, of *Ugen*, of *Visipour*, and of *Golconda*, have much stronger Garrisons. *Bengale* which borders on one Side with a part of the *Indies*, scituate beyond the *Ganges*, and on the

other, with the Kingdom of *Arakan*, the Town of *Chatigan*, and some other *Portuguese* Collonies, has need of more forces than ordinary for it's Defence; And therefore the *Mogol* always keeps an Army there of Forty Thousand Horse. *Ugen* though scituate very much within the Territories of the Empire, is inclosed by those of the most powerful *Rajas*. This Kingdom has likewise a good Army, and capable of disappointing any Designs of the *Indian* Princes. The Garrisons there, never consists of less than Fifteen Thousand Horse. As *Visapour* was at the time of Writing these Memoirs, the Theatre of War against the *Sevagi*, *Oramgzeb* remov'd his Court and his Armies thither. Last of all the Kingdom of *Golconda*, the late conquest of the present Emperor is now entirely subjected to the Empire, by an Army of Twenty Thousand Horse.

This prodigious Number of Officers and Soldiers who Live wholy upon the Emperors Pay, secures in a great Measure the Tranquility of the State, and in some Measure destroys it. As long as the Prince maintains his Authority over the *Vice-Roy*, and Credit enough among his Troops to keep 'em Faithful, no Insurrection of the People is to be fear'd. But when the Princes of the *Mogol* Blood revolt from their lawful Prince, and once take up Arms, they often find the Army but too ready to joyn in a War against him. 'Twas by this means *Oramgzeb* mounted the Throne; by soothing the Affections of the principal Officers of the Empire, and Governors of Provinces, he drew over to his own Side, all the forces employ'd by his Father against him. Yet there seems to be a visible Providence in the *Mogols* preferring this kind of Government to

all others. As he is the sole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Empire, 'tis but reasonable he shou'd subsist out of his Revenues a vast Number of his Subjects.

The Auxilliary Troops which the *Rajas*, Vassals of the Empire are oblig'd to furnish the *Mogol*, are a mighty Augmentation to his Troops. 'Tis true, he often employs 'em more for grandeur than necessity.

'Tis always honourable to exact this Duty; besides that the Emperor secures the Fidelity of his Tributaries, by entertaining their Troops in his Service. 'Tis said there are Fourscore and Four of those *Indian* Princes in *Indoustan* who retain a kind of Soveraignty in their antient Territories. And yet the greatest part are distinguish'd from the *Omhras* of the *Mogol* Court no otherwise, than by the Prince's Contempt for 'em, and the ill Treatment of the great Officers of the *Mahal*. 'Tis true, the *Rajas* have Lands of Inheritance, and their Children succeed in their Honours and Estates. This is almost the only Advantage they have over the *Mahometan Omhras* who are all Men of Fortune, whose Children often return to that Primitive Obscurity, from whence their Fathers had been drawn [illegible] by Merit or Favor. As to those Idolater *Rajas*, some of 'em still retain a shadow of Grandeur, even in the *Mogol's* Presence; Three in particular whose Estates are equally well peopled, rich, and inaccessible, make their Court to the Emperor with some Marks of Dignity, The first who pretends to be originally descended from *Porus*, and who causes himself to be stil'd, *the Son of him who escap'd the Deluge*, (as if that were a Title of Nobility distinguishing him from other Men) is Soveraign of

the Kingdom of *Sedussie*. His Capital is *Visepour*. All the Princes of this great Country take from Father to Son the Name of *Rana*, that is to say, *the Man of good Mein*. He always keeps an Army of Fifty Thousand Horse and Two Hundred Thousand Foot. He is the only *Indian* Prince, who preserves a right of walking under a *Parasol*, an Honour reserved for the Emperor of *Indoustan* alone.

The *Raja* of *Rator* equals the former of *Sedussie* in Riches and Power. He is a Severaign Prince of nine Provinces. His Name was *Jacont-Sing*, that is to say, the *Master-Lyon*, wher *Oramgzeb* mounted the Throne. As he can maintain an Army equal to that of R*ana*, he is as much respected at the *Mogols* Court, as the descendant of *Porus*. 'Tis said that *Cha-Jaham* on some occasion, threatn'd *Jacont-Sing* to make him a Visit in his Country; so he express'd himself. The *Indian* proudly answer'd the M*ogol*, that the next Day he wou'd shew him a Sight which perhaps might spare him the Trouble of that Journey. Accordingly, it being the *Rajas* turn to Mount the Guard at the Palace-gate, he drew up a Body of Twenty Thousand Horse upon the Banks of the River, and desir'd the Emperor who was in a Balcony, to view the Troops of his Nation, *Cha-Jaham* was surpris'd at the glittering Arms and Warlike mien of those brave *Rageputes*. Sir said the *Rajas* you have seen without Fear from the Windows of your Palace, the good Countenance of my *Indians*, but there might perhaps be some danger in seeing 'em, shou'd you go about to make any attempts upon their Liberty. The R*aja* was applauded, and receiv'd a Present.

The Third Soveraign who is most respected in

the *Mogol* Court, can bring into the Field Forty Thousand Horse. His Country is call'd *Chagne*, and the Capital *Amber*. The Prince who reign'd there at the time of *Oramgzebs* Revolution, was the famous *Ja-Sing*, whom we have so often mention'd. Besides these principal *Rajas*, there are above Thirty more, whose Forces are not Contemptible. Four among the rest keep above Five and Twenty Thousand Horse in pay. All these Princes in the Necessities of the State, joyn their Troops to those of the *Mogol*; they Command 'em in Person. The *Rageputes* are on the same Establishment with the Troops of the Empire: And the Pay of a *Raja* is equal to that of the first *Mahometan* General.

So many Auxiliary Troops, and so formidable Armies quarter'd throughtout the Province of *Indoustan*, preserve the Frontiers from any Incursions, at least keep the Centre of the Empire in Peace. The smallest Town has at least Two Troopers, and Four Soldiers quarter'd in it. Those are the Court Spies, who are oblig'd to give an Account of all they see; And according to their Informations, Orders are transmitted into the Provinces.

The Emperors Stables are proportionabe to the Number of his Troops. They are furnish'd with a prodigious Number of *Horses* and *Elephants*. It's said his very Saddle *Horses*, amount to near Twelve Thousand. 'Tis true, not above Twenty or Thirty are reserv'd for his own particular use, the rest are for Pomp, or design'd for Presents, It's a Custom with the Emperor to give a Suit of Cloaths, and a *Horse*, to every one that he Receives the least Service from. These Horses are brought from *Persia*, from *Arabia*, but chiefly

from *Tartary*. Those which are bred in the *Indies*, besides being resty and shie, are Weak and Washy. Above a Hundred Thousand are brought every Year from *Balk*, from *Bochera*, and from *Cabul*. They add considerably to the Customs of the Empire. At the passage of *Indus*, they pay *25 per Cent* of what they are valu'd to. The best are set apart for the Emperors Service, the rest Sold to those who by their Employments are obliged to supply the Cavalry. Horse Meat in the *Indies* is very different from that which is used in *Europe*. In a dry Soyl, and parch'd up by the Heat of the Sun, there's hardly any Forage to be found but upon the Banks of the Rivers. The *Indians* supply this want by a kind of Paste which they Season pretty high. In the Morning they mix Bread with Butter and Sugar, this is Horses Breakfast. Towards Night they prepare him a Mashe of Rice-milk with Pepper and Aniseeds, this is his Supper. All the Emperors *Horses* retain the Names, he himself gives 'em, one is called *Rad-baster*, that is to say, *the Swiftness of the Wind*, another *Chaa-passand*, which Signifies *the Princes Favorite*.

The Emperors *Elephants* are another Article of his Forces, and an Ornament of his Palace. He keeps at least Five Thousand in large Porches, built expresly for 'em. The M*ogol* gives 'em all Names of Sound, and which Suite those prodigious Animals. *Mentum-babarecq*, is the Name of an *Elephant* : it signifies, *walking with a staid Gate*. *Dul-Singar* is another, that is to say, *the Terror of Armies*. The Harness of these *Elephants* is suprisingly Magnificent. That particularly which the Emperor Rides on, carries a Throne which Sparkles all over with Gold and precious

Stones. The others are cover'd with Plates of Gold and Silver, with hoofings Embroider'd with, Gold, and Gold Tassels and Fringes. It looks as if the *Mogol* took a pleasure in lavishing his excessive Wealth, to deck out these stately Creatures. They serve him instead of Coaches, and all other kind of Carriage. The *Elephant* of the Throne, who is called *Oran-gas*, that is to say, *Captain of the Elephants*, has always a great Equipage attending him, and a great Number of Officers to serve him. He never moves without Timbrels and Trumpets sounding, and Banners waving before him. He is allow'd treble Pay for his Expence. The Keeping of each *Elephant*, amounts to Five and Twenty Roupies a Day; that is to say, Thirty Two or Thirty Three Livers of our Money. Every *Elephant* is likewise allow'd Ten Grooms to look after him. Two who are called *Cornaques* have the care of exercising, governing and conducting him, Two others tye on his Chains; Two Furnish him with Wine and Water for his Drink; Two Walk with Lances to clear the way before him; Two Play Fire Works before his Eyes to accustom him to Gunpowder; one takes away his foul Litter and provides New; another beats off the Flies which disturb him, and powrs Wat[illegible] and then on his Body to cool him. These *Elephants* are equally train'd for Hunting or for Battle. They are Taught to Seige the *Lyon* and the *Tyger*, and by this means are inured to Blood. One Exercise of theirs, to wit that of breaking open Town Gates, which they are carefully train'd to, has somewhat in it very Martial.

There are no Arsenals in the *Indies*. Each Commander is obliged to furnish Arms for his

own Men. The Armies are an odd medly of Musquets, Bows, Swords, Cymeters and Lances. Nay it often happens that the kind of Arms is not the same in the same Squadron or Company. One Fights with a Bow and Arrows, while his Right Hand Man makes use of a Musquet or Lance. But *Oramgzeb* has in some Measure reform'd this Disorder. As to the Emperors particular Arsenal, nothing can be more Magnificent. His Javelins, his Bows, his Quivers, but above all his Sabres are rang'd in beautiful Order. All sparkle with precious Stones. He gives Names to his Arms as well as to his other things, One of his Cymitars is called *Alamguir*, that is to say, *the Conqueror of the Earth*; another *Fale-alam*, which signifies, *The Conqueror of the World*. Every *Fryday* Morning, the *Mogol* says his Prayers in the Arsenal. He desires of God, that with his Sabres he may obtain Victories, and make the Name of the Almighty dreaded by the Enemies.

The Emperor has a numerous Artillery, and the Pieces of Cannon which he makes use of in his Armies, are for the most part Older than any we have in *Europe*. Powder and Cannon were certainly known in the *Indies*, long before the Conquests of *Tamerlane*. 'Tis said the *Chinese*, who are supposed to be the first Inventers, had Cast some Pieces of Cannon at *Dely*, at the Time of their being Masters there. This is a Tradition of the Country. Every Piece of Cannon has its particular Name according to the Custom of the Empire. One is called *Orang-var*, that is to say, the *Strength of the Throne*, another *Bargisilan*, which signifies, *that which Batters Bulwarks*. The Gunners of the Empire were almost all *Europeans* under the Emperors, who preceded

Oramgzeb. The present *Mogol's* Zeal for the *Alcoran*, will permit him to employ none but *Mahometans*. There are hardly any *Franguis* to be seen now at Court, except Physicians and .Goldsmiths. All the rest have quitted a Country, where the free Exercise of Religion is not allowed as formerly. The Emperor has but too well learnt to dispense with our Gunners, and generally speaking with all our Artizans of *Europe*.

The Description we have given of the Forces and Armies of the *Mogol*, will suffice without doubt to give us an high Idea of this powerful Monarch. It's in his Progress chiefly and extraordinary Huntings that he exposes to publick View his greatest Magnificence. He is follow'd by all his Armies. A Palace is carry'd along with him, not much inferior in Largeness to those in his Capitals. They erect it every day, in the midst of a Camp encompass'd by stately Tents belonging to the great Men of his Court. These Preparations always strike a Terror into the neighbouring Nations, and he is almost sure of conquering when he enters the Field against the People of the *Indies*.

The Revenues of the Mogol.

It may very well be imagin'd, that a Court so magnificent cannot subsist, nor so numerous Armies be maintain'd without immense Revenues. People, generally speaking, are convinced in *Europe* of the Riches of the *Mogol*, and perhaps too the Distance of the Country, and fabulous Accounts from thence, magnify the Idea of 'em. To make a just Estimate of 'em

we shall insist on Three things : First, the Fruitfulness of *Indoustan*, and the abundant Product of the Soil : Secondly, the Riches return'd thither by trade from *Europe*, *Africk*, and *Asia* : Thirdly, the Subsidies which the Emperor exacts from his People.

'Tis known that the Extent of the Imperial Demesnes is equal to that of the Territories of the Empire. The *Mogol* is the only Proprietor of all the real Estates in his Dominions, and only Heir to his Subjects. Therefore to compute his Riches, we must first know the Commodities and natural Produce of the Country. Thus we shall be able to make some Judgment of the Crown Revenues. To this End, we shall run through the principal Kingdoms of this vast Empire ; and observe their Scituation, Produce, and Commerce.

The Kingdom of *Dely* holds the first Rank in the *Indies*. It's Capital is scituate in Thirty one Degrees, Forty Five Minutes Latitude, and in a Hundred and Twenty Three Degrees Longitude, It's a Soil very fertil in Grain, and seems to be better cultivated than the more remote Provinces.

The Kingdom of *Agra*, whereof the Capital of the same Name is scituate in Twenty Nine Degrees Twenty Minutes Latitude, and in a Hundred and Twenty Three Degrees Longitude, comes short of that of *Dely* in *Rice* and Wheat, But to make amends, it produces Indigo, and the Manufactures cause a considerable Trade. The Mozlins, the Silks, the Gold and Silver Tissues, which for the most part are made use ef for Turbants, as also the Lace made there, render *Agra* the richest Country of the *Indies*.

The Kingdom of P*angiab* has the town of *Lahor* for its Capital, scituate in Thirty Three Degrees Latitude, and in an Hundred and Nineteen Degrees Forty Minutes Longitude. Fine Muzlins, and all sorts of flower'd and embroidered Silks, all sorts of Carpeting, plain and flowered, and woollen Drapery is wrought here. Here is likewise found the Rock Salt, which is transported to all parts of the Empire.

The Town of *Asmir* gives its Name to a Kingdom. It's Scituation is in Thirty Degrees Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Degrees and an half Longitude. This Country abounds in Grain and Pasture.

The Kingdom of *Guzuratte* is not inferior in Riches to any part of the Empire. It's Capital named *Amadabad* is in Twenty Three Degrees Latitude, and in an Hundred Sixteen Degrees, and Thirty Minutes Longitude. A great Plenty of Grain, and rich Merchandizes give a Reputation to this Kingdom. Gold and Silver Tissues, and several sorts of Silks are exported out of it. They deal very much here in all sorts of Goldsmiths Ware, and Jewels of all kinds.

Mallua is the Capital of a Kingdom which bears the same Name. It lies in Six and Twenty Degrees Latitude, and an Hundred and Three Degrees, Fifty Minutes Longitude. The Country abounds in Grain, and produces abundance of white and stained Calicoes.

The Kingdom of *Bear*, has the town of *Patna* for its Capital. This Town is scituate in Twenty Five Degrees, Thirty Minutes Latitude, and in a Hundred and Thirty Two Degrees Longitude. It affords Saltpeter, which is transported

in great Quantities to *Europe*. Here likewise is made a kind of earthen Ware of a very grateful Scent, and almost as thin as Paper. They make use of it in the *Mogol's Seraglio*, and in the Palaces of Princes.

The Kingdom of *Multan*, whereof the principal Town lies in Thirty Three Degrees and Forty Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred and Fifteen Degress and Twenty Minutes Longitude, affords no great matter of Commerce in any kind except Horses and naked Camels.

Cabulestan more abundant in Pasture produces excellent Horses and hairy Camels. *Cabul* its Capital is scituate in Thirty Six Degrees, Twenty Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Thirteen Degrees and Fifty Minutes Longitude.

The Kingdoms of *Tata* and that of *Bacar*, which we throw in because of their near Neighbourhood and Smallness, are equally rich in excellent Corn and Cattle. The Capital of the latter is plac'd in Twenty Eight Degrees Thirty Minutes Latitude, and in an Hundred and Twelve Degrees and Twenty Five Minutes Longitude.

Urecha is the Name of a Kingdom, and of a very good Town, scituate in Twenty Degrees Twenty Five Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred and Twenty Five Degrees and Twenty Minutes Longitude. The Soil is fertil in Rice.

In the Town of *Benares*, scituate in Kingdom of *Illavas* in Twenty Nine Degrees, Twenty Five Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Nine Degrees and Fifteen Minutes Longitude, Pulse and generally all sorts of Grain grow in abundance. Silks, Gold and Silver Tissues, magnificent Turbants, rich Sashes, and light Attire for the Ladies of the *Seraglio*. all which are

wrought here, render this Country one of the richest of all the *Indies*.

Orambagad is the Capital of the Kingdom of *Decan*. The present Emperor founded it in Nineteen Degrees Twenty Five Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Degrees and Twenty Five Minutes Longitude. Here they make Silks, and the finest white Calicoes.

One of the most plentiful Kingdoms of *Indoustan* is that of *Barar*. It abounds in Corn, Rice and Pulse. Here likewise grows that kind of Poppy from which they extract *Opium*. It yields Sugar Canes almost without Cultivation. The Capital of this fertile Kingdom lies in Twenty Three Degrees Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Five Degrees and Forty Minutes Longitude.

The Soil in the Kingdom of *Brampour*, is very fertile, especially in Grain; its Capital which bears the same Name, lies in Twenty Three Degrees Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Three Degrees and Thirty Minutes Longitude.

Baglane and *Nandé* Two Kingdoms famous for white and stainted Calicoes, bear the same Names with their Capitals. The first is scituate in Nineteen Degrees Latitude, and an Hundred and Eighteen Degrees Longitude. The second in Twenty Seven Degrees Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Four Degrees, and Twenty Minutes Longitude,

Bengale is of all the *Mogol* Kingdoms the best known in *France*. The prodigious Riches transported thence every Year into *Europe*, are Proofs of its great Fertility. We may venture to say, it is not inferior in any thing to Egypt, and that it even exceeds that Kingdom in its Product of

Silks, Cottons, Sugar, and Indigo. All things are in great Plenty here, Fruits, Pulse, Grain, Muzlins, Cloth of Gold and Silks. *Daca* its Capital is in Twenty Three Degrees, Thirty Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Thirty Three Degrees, and Forty Minutes Longitude.

The Kingdom of *Ugen* produces only Grain and Salt. Its Capital which bears the same Name, a very antient Town, is scituated in Twenty Eight Degrees, Twenty Five Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Two Degrees, and Thirty Minutes Longitude.

The Muzlins of the Kingdom of *Ragemal* are very much esteemed, and Rice grows there in abundance. The Capital stands in Twenty Four Degrees, Twenty Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Thirty Two Degrees Longitude.

The Kingdoms of *Visapour* and *Golconda* are the late Conquests of *Oramgzeb*. The Diamond Mine is an Appanage of the latter Kingdom. It's a Source of Riches for the Conqueror. The white and stain'd Calicoes made there, its Iron, and Beazors Stone enhance the Value of this noble Conquest. The Capital of *Visapour* is scituate in Seventeen Degrees Twenty Five Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Eighteen Degrees Fifty Minutes Longitude. *Baganagar* the Capital of *Golconda* is generally reputed to lie in Nineteen Degrees Forty Minutes Latitude, and an Hundred Twenty Four Degrees Forty Minutes Longitude.

This Survey of so many Kingdoms, whose Lands do all belong to the Emperor, must needs have given us some Idea of his Opulency. 'Tis true, we must not judge of the Profits issuing out of the Kingdoms of *Indoustan*, in proportion to

what might be made of 'em in *France.* There are vast Countries in the *Indies* incapable of any Improvement. There are others where the Soil is fertile, but wholly neglected by the Inhabitants. They don't apply themselves in *Indoustan* to advance the Crown Revenues, with the same Care as People do in *Europe*, to improve their own Rents. This is an Evil which naturally attends that arbitrary Government, the *Mogols* have establish'd in their conquered Countries. To remedy it in some measure, *Akebar*, who first began to reform the Method of collecting the Revenues, stop'd all Payments to the Vice-Roys and Governors in ready Mony. He assign'd 'em Lands in their Governments for their own use, and exacted from 'em a certain Sum for the rest of the Lands within their Districts, which was higher or lower according as their Countries were more or less fruitful. These Governors, who properly speaking are but the Farmers of the Empire, have likewise Farmers under them. The Difficulty lies in finding Labourers, willing to undertake the great Toil of tilling the Land, without any other Advantage, than that of a wretched Subsistance. So that nothing but downright Violence will bring the Peasants to work. Hence proceed their frequent Rebellions and Escapes into the Territories of the *Indian Rajas*, who treat 'em with a little more Humanity. Thus the Countries of the *Mogol* are insensibly depopulated and laid wast.

The Gold and Silver which by Foreign Commerce comes into *Indoustan*, makes sufficient Amends for the want of Industry, and infinitely increases the Riches of the *Mogol*. If we may believe *M. Bernier*, who is free from the Vices of

most Travellers, and who does not exaggerate the Advantages of the Empire wherein he Liv'd, *Indoustan* is a drain of all the Treasures transported from *America* into the other parts of the World. All the Silver of *Mexico*, says he, and all the Gold of *Peru*, after having circulated sometime in *Europe* and *Asia*, enter at last in the *Mogol* Empire, from whence it never is to Return. We know, continues he, that part of it is carry'd into *Turkey*, to Pay for the *Merchandizes* of that country. From *Turkey* the Money passes into *Persia* by the way of *Smirna*, for the Silks which are made there. From *Persia* it's carry'd into *Indoustan* by the Commerce of *Moka*, of *Babelmandeb*, of *Bassora* and of *Bander-Abassi*. At the same time some goes directly from *Europe* to the *Indies*, and particularly by the Trade of *Holland* and *Portugal*. Almost all the Silver which the former get in *Japan*, is carry'd to the *Mogol* Dominions. They find their Advantage in taking off their Merchandises, though they Pay ready Money for it. 'Tis true, *Indoustan* how well soever supply'd by it's own Commodities, takes off some kinds of Merchandises from *Europe* and *Asia*. Copper is transported thither from *Japan*; Lead from *England*, Cinnamon from *Muscado*, *Elephants* from *Ceylon*, and *Horses* from *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Tartary*. But for the most part, the returns are only Marchandises, with which they load in the *Indies* the same Vessels that brought their Cargoes. Thus all the Gold and Silver of the World, finds a Thousand ways of coming into *Indoustan*, but not one for coming out.

This Reflexion of *M. Bernier* deserves our Attention. Notwithstanding this almost infinite Quantity of Gold and Silver, which goes into

Mogol and never comes back, 'tis astonishing says he, not to find more Cash in private Hands here, than in other Countries. It can't be deny'd that the Tissues and Brocades of Gold and Silver, which they are incessantly working, the Gold-Smiths Trade, and particularly guilding consumes a deal of the Species; but after all, there must be other Reasons for it. The *Indians* are under the Power of a superstitious Belief, which makes 'em Bury their Treasures, or otherwise convey out of Sight the Money they get together. They Fancy that after Death their Souls shall pass into the Bodies of other *Indians*, and that then they shall find, those hidden Riches to supply 'em in time of Need. By this means a great part of these precious Mettles return in *Indoustan* to the Bowels of the Earth, from whence they were taken in America. After all what contributes most to the Scarcity of *Speciee* in the Empire of the *Mogols*, is the Management of the Court. The Emperors heap up vast Treasures, and though *Cha-Jaham* is the only Emperor branded with excessive Avarice, yet they all Love to Bury their Gold and Silver in Subterranean Caves, looking on 'em as pernicious in the Hands of the People. Here then, that is in the *Mogols* Treasury, all the Money transported to the *Indies* centres in the End; Where after defraying all the Charges of the Empire, the remainder lies Dead, unless in some great Extremity of the State.

What we have hitherto said is a just inducement to believe what we are further to add: Nor will the Reader be now surpris'd at the vast Revenues coming in to the *Mogol* out of all his Dominions. Here's an exact List of 'em taken from the Archives of the Empire. The product

of the vast demesnees of the Emperor in the Year 1697, stood thus. But in Order to conceive a right Notion of it, we must suppose Two things. First that all the Kingdoms of the Empire are divided into *Sarcars*, that is to say, Provinces; that the *Sarcars* are subdivided into *Parganas*, which signifie, *Governments within the compass of one Province*. They are properly speaking underfarms. Secondly we must suppose thot according to the way of computing in *Indoustan*, a *Carol*, contains in Value one Hundred *Laqs*, that is to say Ten Millions; and a *Laq* contains in value one Hundred Thousand *Roupies*. In fine, that a *Roupie* is very near half a Crown of French Money.

The Kingdom of *Dely* comprehends in its Government Eight *Sircars*, and Two Hundred and Twenty *Parganas*, which yield *one Carol, Twenty Five Laqs, and Five Thousand Roupies* Yearly.

The Kingdom of *Agra* reckons within its Compass Fourteen *Sarcars*, and Two Hundred Seventy Eight *Parganas*. They yeild the Emperor *Two Carols, Two and Twenty Laqs, Three Thousand Five Hundred and Fifty Roupies*.

We find within the Extent of the Kingdom of *Lahor* Five *Sarcars*, and Three Hundred Fourteen *Parganas*, which yield *Two Carols, Thirty Three Laqs, and Five Thousand Roupies*.

The Kingdom of *Asmir*, it's *Sarcars* and *Parganas* Pay, *Two Carols Nineteen Laqs and Two Roupies*.

That of *Guzuratte* which in its Circumference contains Nine *Sarcars* and *Nineteen Parganas*, Pays the Emperor Two *Carols, Thirty Three Laqs, and Ninety Five Thousand Roupies*.

The Kingdom of *Malua* divided into Eleven

Sarcars, and into Two Hundred and Fifty small *Parganas*, Pays but *Ninety Nine Laqs, Six Thousand Two Hundred* and *Fifty Roupies.*

In the Kingdom of *Bear* are contained Eight *Sarcars*, and Two Hundred Forty Five small *Parganas*. The Emperor receives thence *one Carol, Twenty one Laqs and Fifty Thousand* Roupies.

The Fourteen *Sarcars*, divided into Ninety Six *Parganas*, of the Kingdom of *Multan*, yield the Emperor but *Fifty Laqs, and Twenty Five Thousand* Roupies.

The Kingdom of *Cabul* divided into Thirty *Parganas*, Pay but *Thirty Two Laqs, Seven Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty* Roupies.

The Kingdom of *Tata* Pays *Sixty Laqs, and Two Thousand* Roupies; and that of *Bacar*, only *Twenty Four Laqs.*

In the Kingdom of *Urecha*, though they reckon Eleven *Sarcars*, and a great Number of *Parganas*, they yield but *Fifty Seven Laqs, and Seven Thousand Five Hundred* Roupies.

The Kingdom of *Illavas* with its dependances, Pays *Seventy Seven Laqs, and Thirty Eight Thousand* Roupies.

The Kingdom of *Decan* divided into Eight *Sarcars*, and into Seventy Nine *Parganas*, Pay *one Carol, Sixty Tw[illegible]aqs, and Four Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty* Roupies.

In the Kingdom of *Barar* are reckon'd Ten *Sarcars* and a Hundred and Ninety one small *Parganas* the Emperor receives thence *one Carol, Fifty Eight Laqs, and Seven Thousand Five Hundred* Roupies.

The great Province of *Candis*, which we here reckon as a Kingdom, yields the *Mogol, one Carol, Eleven Laks and Five Thousand* Roupies.

The Kingdom of B*ágl*a*na* comprehends Forty Three P*arganas*. The Emperor receives thence *Sixty Eight Laqs, and Eighty Five Thousand* R*oupies*.

The Kingdom of *Nande*, pays but *Seventy Two Laqs*.

The Kingdom of *Bengale* pays the Emperor *Four Carols*.

That of *Ugen* yeilds *Two Carols*.

The Kingdom of R*agemahal, one* C*arol*, and *Fifty Thousand* R*oupies*.

The Emperor exacts from the Kingdom of *Visapour*, and from a part of the Province of *Carnatte*, F*ive* C*arols*.

In fine, the Kingdom of *Golconda* and another part of C*arnatte*, pay also *Five* C*arols*.

The whole being cast up amounts to Three Hundred Eighty Seven Millions, a Hundred and Ninety Four Thousand Roupies. Thus taking the *Indian* Roupies for Thirty Pence, or thereabouts of our French Money, the Demesnes of the *Mogol* Emperor produce him every Year *Five Hundred and Eighty Millions, Seven Hundred and Ninety one Thousand Livres.*

Besides these estalish'd Revenues of his Demesnes, which are paid out of the Produce of the Country, the Casualties are another Source of Riches for the Emperor. 1. They exact every Year a Capitation Tax from every *Idolater-Indian*. As Death, Desertion, and the roving Temper of those antient Inhabitants of *Indoustan*, render their Number uncertain, this Revenue is very much lessened. The Governors make great Advantages by their Concealments. 2. All the Merchandizes with the Idolater Traders transport abroad, pay the Collectors of the Customs Five *per Cent.* of the Value. *Oramgzeb*

has exempted the *Mahometans* from this Impost. 3. The Bleaching of that infinite Quantity of Linnen Cloath wrought in the *Indies*, pays likewise a considerable Tax. 4. The Diamond Mine pays the Emperor a great Tax. He seizes for his own use the clearest and perfectest, that is to say, all that are above Three Eighths 5. The Sea-ports,and particularly those of *Sindy*,B*arocha*, *Suratte*, and C*ambaye* are tax'd in great Sums. *Suratte* alone pays commonly *Thirty Laqs* for entring Customs, and *Eleven Laqs* for its Mint. 6. All the Coast of C*oromandel*, and all the Ports scituate upon the Banks of the *Ganges* pay great Revenues to the Crown. 7. What encreases 'em exceedingly, is his being universal Executor to all the M*ahometan* Subjects in his pay. All Moveables, all the Mony, and all the Effects of the deceased belongs by Law to the Emperor. Hence the Wives of Governors of Provinces and of Generals of Armies are often reduced to small Pensions, and their Children, if without Merit, are reduc'd to Beggary. 8. The Tributes of the *Raias* are considerable enough to be reckon'd Branches among the principals of the M*ogols* Revenue.

These casual Branches all together do equal, if not exceed the immense Income which the Emperor receives out of his Demesnes. One's almost astonish'd at his prodigious Wealth. But we must consider that all these Riches enter into the *Mogols* Treasury, only to issue thence very Year at least a great part of them, and be distributed regularly throughout his Dominions. One half of the Empire subsists by the Liberality of the Prince, or at least receives Pensions from him. Besides that great Number of Officers and Soldiers who only live on their Pay, all the Boors of the

Country who labour only for the Emperor, are maintained at his Expence; and almost all the Artizans of the Towns that work for the *Mogol*, are paid out of the Treasury. We may easily judge what the Dependance of the subject is, and consequently, what their Respect to their Master must be.

Of the Policy, and civil Administration of the Mogol.

We have very little to say as to the kind of Government, and Policy establish'd by the *Mogol* in the *Indies*. Certainly nothing can be more simple, than the Springs by which this great Machine is set in Motion. The Emperor alone is the Soul of it. His Jurisdiction being as entire as his Demesnes, the whole Authority resides in his Person alone; and properly speaking, there's only one Master in *Indoustan*. All the rest are rather to be look'd on as slaves than Subjects.

All the Affairs of State are lodg'd in the Hands of Three of Four *Omhras* of the first Order, who manage them under the Direction of the Sovereign. The *Etmadoulet* holds the Post of prime Minister to the Emperor, and is the same to the *Mogol* in the *Indies*, as the prime *Vizier* is to the *Grand Seignior* in *Turkey*. After all, it's very often But a meer Title without Employment, and a Dignity without a Function. They choose sometimes for *Etmadoulet* a Person without Experience, and who has no other Business on his Hands, but that of receiving his Salary. One while a Prince of the *Mogol* Blood, who for his peaceful Temper, and way of Life is suffered to live to a good old Age: another while, the Fa-

ther of some favorite Queen, taken perhaps out of the common Ranks of the foot Soldiers, or the meanest of the Populace. In this case the whole Weight of the Government falls upon the Two Secretaries of State. One collects the Treasures of the Empire, and the other distributes 'em. The latter pays the Officers of the Crown, the Troops, the Workmen; the former gathers the Revenues of the Demesnes, receives the Tributes and levies the Taxes. A Third Officer of the Finances, but of a lower Rank than the Secretaries of State, is employed to collect the Inheritances of all such as dye in the Princes Service. It's a Commission of great Perquisits, but very odious. As to these eminent Posts of the Empire, none arrive at them, but by the way of Arms. Ministers of State are always chosen among the Officers of the Army. Whoever comes to beg their Favor with the Emperor, must be sure never to approach 'em, without a Present. 'Tis rather a Mark of Respect on the Suppliant's part, than of Avarice on the *Omhra's*. They don't much consider the Value of the Present; the main thing is never to come empty handed into the Presence of the great Officers of the Court.

The Command of the Armies, when the Emperor himself is not at the Head of his Troops, is often trusted to a Prince of the Blood. In the Absence of a Sultan of the Imperial Family, two Generals are chosen by the *Mogol*, one from among the *Mahometan Omhras*, and the other among the *Indian Rajas*. The Imperial Troops are commanded by the *Omhra*, and the auxiliary *Rageputes* obey no Orders, but those of a *Raja* of their Nation. 'Twas the Emperor *Akebar* regulated the State of his Armies, and established the

following Order in it. He order'd that all the Officers of his Army should be paid on a Foot of Three different Establishments. The first on the Establishment of Twelve Months, the second on that of Six Months, and the third of the Establishment of Four Months. Thus when the Emperor gives a *Mansebdar* (so they call the under Officers of the Empire) Twenty Roupies a Month on the first Establishment, his Pay amounts in the Year to Seven Hundred and Fify Roupies; for they always have a Mending of Ten given in. He who is on the Establishment of Twenty Roupies *per* Month, receives yearly but Three Hundred and Seventy Five Roupies; and he who is on the Third Establishment, receives yearly but Two Hundred and Fifty Roupies for his Sum total, This is whimsical Regulation, for they who are paid only at the rate of Four Months, are as long upon Duty as they who receive Pay at the rate of Twelve Months. Yet the Emperor thought to give himself Airs of Grandeur and Justice by this Order, weich passes well enough upon the Eastern People. They would have the Word believe, that if they gave less to some Officers than to others, it was because they receiv'd less Attendance from 'em. At the same time the *Mogol*, when he orders the Pay of a *Mansebdar*, never uses the Term Roupie, but that of *Dams*. It's a small Coin rarely seen in Payments. At least Forty of them go to a Roupie. Thus when the Emperor appoints a Thousand Roupies for an Officers Pay; I assign him, says he, Fifty Thousand *Dams*. There's an Emphasis in the Expresston, which adds nothing to Pay.

When the Pay of an Officer of the Army, or Court amounts by the Month to a Thousand Roupies on the first Establishment, that is to say, to an *Azari Amarhao*, according to their manner of computing, he is no longer look'd on as a *Mansebdar*; he bears the Title of *Omhra*. So that this Title of Grandeur depends entirely on their Pay. He is then oblig'd to keep an Elephant, and Two Hundred and Fifty Horse for the Emperor's Service. The Fifty Thousand Roupies yearly, would not suffice, even in the *Indies* to maintain so many Men, (for the *Omhras* are obliged to keep at least Two Horses for every Man) if the Emperor did not make it up by some other Way, He assigns the Officers some part of his Demesnes. The Charge of every Trooper is computed at Ten Roupies a Day, but the Profits of the Lands allotted 'em, generally amount to more than is requisite for the Support of their Troops.

These *Omhras* don't all receive the same Pay. There are some whose Pay amount to Two *Azaris*, others to Three *Azaris*, some to Four, and others again to Five. In fine, those of the first Rank receive Six. That is to say, take all together, the Pay of these latter may very well amount to Three Millions of Roupies yearly. Their Trains are accordingly magnificent and, the Horse they maintain are equal to our small Armies. Hence the *Omhras* become formidable sometimes to their very Masters. The Example of *Mahomet-Cham* ought doubtless to have reformed a Profusenes so dengerous, which brings the Subjects too near the Throne. But 'tis the Establishment of *Akebar* and no Emperor has dar'd to alter it. There are commonly Six *Om-*

hras of the largest Pensions. The *Elmadoulet*, The Two Secretaries of State, the Vice-Roys of *Cabul*, of *Bengale*, and of *Ugen*. As to the private Men, their Pay is at the Discretion of the *Omhras*, who list and maintain 'em. By the Articles of War, they ought to be paid every Day, but this Rule is not well observed. Indeed they do distribute Mony among 'em every Month, but often oblige 'em to take old Moveables, and the old Cloaths of the *Omhra's* Wives in Payment. 'Tis by these Extortions that the prime Officers of the Empire, heap up vast Riches, which after their Death 's return to the Emperor's Coffers.

Justice is very punctually administred in all parts of the *Mogol Empire*. The Vice-Roys, the Governors of Provinces, of Cities, and smaller Towns, act precisely in the Places under their Dependance, as the *Mogol* does at *Agra* or *Dely*. They alone render Justice and determine all Controversies touching the Lives and Estates of the Subjects. "Tis true, there's a *Cotwal* and a *Cazi* apponited in every Town for judging of certain Affairs. But nothing's determin'd before their Tribunals, but what the Parties please to carry before 'em. All have a right of immediate Recourse either io the Emperor himself, in the Place of his Residence, or to the Vice-Roys in the Capital of their Vice-Royships, or to Governors in the Places of their Abode.

The *Cotwal*, at one and the same time, performs the Function of a Civil Judge, and great Provost. At this time under *Oramgzeb* a zealous Observer of the *Alcoran*, the principal Function of the Civil Judge is to suppress Drukenness, to exterminate Taverns, and generally all Places of Debauchery, to punish all those who distill *Rack*,

which is a kind of strong Water extracted from Sugar. He is obliged to give the Emperor an Account of the Domestick Disorders of all Families, of all Riots, unlawful Assemblies, and Night Meetings. For this end, he sets his Spyes in all parts of the Town. They who are more particularly employ'd by him, are a kind of People called *Alarcors.* Their Profession is that of sweeping the Houses, and setting all the Houshold Goods to rights, if they happen to be disordered. Every Morning they enter the Citizens Houses, they inform themselves of what passes in the Family, they interrogate the Slaves and make their Report to the *Cattwal.* This principal Officer of Justice, in Quality of great Provost, is responsible for all the Robberies committed within his District in the Town or Country. By this we may judge of his Zeal and Vigilance. He has always Soldiers patroling the Roads, and people in Disguise up and down the Towns, whose Business is to prevent Disorders. As to the *Cazi* his Jurisdiction does not extend much beyond the Affairs of religion, Divorces and Dissolution of Marriages. But after all neither of these Subaltern Judges is allow'd to pronounce Sentence of Death, without first reporting the matter of Fact to the Emperor. The *Mogol* himself must Three times on Three several Days approve the Sentence before it's executed. They observe the same Conduct in the Country, and the Vice-Roys and Governors only can proceed to Sentence of Death.

Justice is administer'd in the *Indies* without Delay. Every Body there without much Formality pleads his own Cause, or has an *Omhra* to do it for him. They hear Witnesses, and give Judg-

ment upon the Spot, for the most part, with as much Justice as Expedition. 'Tis true, *Indoustan* is not from the Corruption of Judges and Subordination of Witnesses, any more than other Countries; but Perjury and Bribery are punish'd with Death. By this means they remedy the Evil as much as possible. The Unrighteousness of Judges is it seems an universal Evil, which is not always prevented by tedious, Forms of Law. Those few Ministers of Justice, who exceed not above Three in the great, as well as small Towns, have not near so much Business upon their Hands, as the least of our Judges, who are in so great Numbers in *Europe*.

Such are the Customs of the great Empire, of which we have given the History. We don't pretend that they are free from Censure, yet the Reader may observe in 'em a certain Mixture of Barbarity and Justice, which all things considered, renders the Government of the *Mogol* not much inferior to the Administration of most other Nations. The Emperor who reigns at this Day in *Indoustan*, maintains by his Prudence, and adds every day by his Valour, to an Empire, which has not yet suffer'd the least Diminution, since its first Establishment.

FINIS.